



# **Macedonia & the Macedonians via the Sources in the Classical Period**

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## Abstract

This dissertation was written to finalize the MA in the Classical Archaeology and the Ancient History of Macedonia at the International Hellenic University.

Historical events in order to be attested and examined by scholars have to derive from some kind of evidence. Such evidence is provided by primordial sources of any kind. It might be a papyrus, an inscription, a votive relief or an archaeological find that may attest to a historical event. Thus, it is like watching an event through the eyes of those who really experienced it.

Objectivity is such a subjective issue that it is formed not only by the author who composes a historical document but also by the reader who pores over the document. So, there is no an existing frame of truth but only a common perception of it. Therefore, in order to provide an academic paper on history, one has to consider what was commonly accepted during the specific period examined. Certainly, it is not always easy to come down with such evidence deriving from different sources, but in many cases, such paradigms do exist. Typically, historians, orators or even the tragic poets may provide us with such evidence and today's scholars are challenged to accumulate, compare them and come to a safe conclusion (when examining a historical event or even history itself).

The main subject of this dissertation paper shall cover the following subject: What was the image of the Macedonian Kingdom by the southern Greeks during the Classical period. How this image is depicted to us nowadays when studying the primordial sources. How did the Macedonians perceived themselves, living on the fringe of the Helladic space? Furthermore, it shall cover all the later and the updated historical data through the primordial sources available.

I am most thankful to Mr. Xydopoulos for all his support, perfect communication and feedback that he very willingly provided to me from the very beginning. This work was established in his previous work *“Civil and Social Relations amongst the Macedonians and the Rest of the Greeks”*, published in 1998. Furthermore, I included the updated historical and archaeological data available, offering at the same

time another perspective. Having the continuous assistance and supervision of the Professor, I am certain that the result will excel my expectations. Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Miroslav Vasilev, Dr. Maria Girtzi, Dr. Paschalis Paschidis, my friends and family. The first two for providing me with their valuable articles and suggestions and the last ones, for having to put up and support me while I was working on the project.

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## **Preface**

I hope, my work shall provide a spherical view on the subject and become a stimulus to younger scholars. Furthermore, I am grateful to you for reading it, hope you will enjoy it as much as I did, while composing it.



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## Introduction

What would have been the value of Archaeology without history and vice versa? What would history be without the evident truth deriving from the archaeological finds? Two different sciences of great importance, inseparable from each other, both attempting to reconstruct and interpret the historical past.

An archaeological site or find can be considered as the non-written record of the past. A past that is constantly changing, reflecting the alterations of human behavior, the choices, the culture of people of a certain race, during a specific period of time. Archaeology is a systemic science from which an archaeologist can reconstruct the procedure of how human groups adapted to changing conditions, the past economies, and technologies, the past trade and the political processes. Hence, an archaeological site is the “voice” of the past, exclusively attributing to the knowledge of people’s interaction with the physical and biotic environment, the natural resources, their culture and their evolution. But what would archaeology be without history, if not delimited in a specific context, without the aid of primary sources? Primary sources provide insight into the past at the very moment they were composed on papyri or inscribed on a stone. Thusly, those sources provide the historian with a tool to comprehend an event. They are pieces of evidence a historian uses in order to develop an interpretation, to build up an argument and to support it. Those documents can be considered as being an “open window” to the past that offer a view of history in the context of the period it was recorded.

Primary sources are molded by the spirit, the essence of time in which they were written, providing pure elements of the period in the author composed. Nevertheless, sources do not speak for themselves. They have to be interpreted and placed into a specific historical context. To certify the accuracy of an interpretation, several factors require a close examination so that a safe result can be concluded. The first questions to be answered are, who the author of the source was and whether he was a Greek or a foreigner? Another very important parameter would be to identify the period in which the text was composed and the purposes it served. Part of the

answer should also include another significant query involving the question; what audience it was addressed to? At the other end of the spectrum, a reader or a historian must validate that he/she comprehends the primary sources correctly. To achieve that, the evidence the author provides to support his thesis must be properly conceived by the reader. To succeed this, keywords in the text should be noted that aid and certify its comprehension. The assumptions that underline the argument and perceive the values that the author reflects in his work must be thoroughly examined. From the above, it is evident that using a primary source is not an easy task but a rather demanding one.

The history of Greece, ever since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the very recent times, is separated into two differentiated parts. The first one consists mainly of the Athenian history up to 338 BC (Chaeronea battle) and the second part begins from that moment onward with the Macedonian conquest and prevalence in the Helladic world. This fact is basically problematic, for it divides the Greek history itself into two separate parts rather than one subject of the very same essence. In this vein, the contribution of B. G. Niebuhr played a significant role, who is considered as the “father” of critical history. Niebuhr considered the Macedonians as a non-Greek tribe and for the very same reason, he separated the history of Greece with that of the Macedonian conquest<sup>1</sup>. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century though, there has been a comprehensive study of the Macedonian history. This fact led to a historical review of Greek history, combining the two different eras and geographical areas (the east with the north) into one.

The history of Macedonia though appeared to be problematic and vacant. This is due to the following reasons<sup>2</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> According to John R. Knipfing, due to the fact that Niebuhr lived and embattled through the stormy and stressful period of the War of Liberation against Napoleon: “*he had grown to be an ardent champion of liberty, whether of the individual, of the nation, or of the state. Conversely, he became possessed of bitterest hatred for the Bonapartist system-its inhumanity, its oppression of nationalities, and its militaristic imperialism. In 1805, the year of Ulm and Austerlitz, he translated into German the First Philippic of Demosthenes, drew therein a parallel between the historic roles of Napoleon and Philip of Macedon*”. Knipfing, 1921, p. 657-671.

<sup>2</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 30.

1. The oldest testimonies (both of the Classical and Hellenistic era) are mainly based on sources written mainly by non-Macedonian authors.
2. Only a few fragments of inscriptions from the Classical period are attested.

Non-Macedonian authors presented history from their own point of view, which sometimes included personal perspectives, opinions, feelings or even concealed policymaking considerations. Moreover, another serious disadvantage is the lack of information of history from the Macedonians' perceptive depicting, how the Macedonians considered themselves. This lack of evidence can be easily explained by assuming, that the ancient Macedonians did not need to confirm their Hellenicity because they didn't differ in any way from the rest of the Greeks. They were aware of their common traits and the common ethnic character they had with the other Hellenes. For instance, a Syracusan from Sicily, a Panticapaian of Scythia, an Odessan of Thrace must have considered themselves as Hellenes, inhabiting the city-states of Hellenic nature<sup>3</sup>. Meanwhile, Ancient Greeks instinctively knew that the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Persians, the Egyptians (only a few examples) belonged to a different ethnic family and were considered foreigners. What defined Greeks in antiquity was their common perception of the cultural, linguistic, religion characteristics and that those were the elements that defined the difference amongst "Them and the Others".

Furthermore, several times, mistakes have been made considering the origin of certain areas. A distinct characteristic of such a mistake can be found in Thucydides work in the 5<sup>th</sup> century where he describes the Aetolians as being utterly barbarian, speaking of an incomprehensible language<sup>4</sup>. A few centuries earlier, during the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Homer in the Iliad attests the Aetolians as Greeks who joined in the PanHellenic expedition against the Trojans<sup>5</sup>. Later on, Herodotus also records the Aetolians as

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<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that those areas were not geographically located in Hellas, they were distant and if considered according to nowadays border aspects one would have been Italian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian.

<sup>4</sup> *"The Aetolian nation, although numerous and warlike, yet dwelt in un-walled villages scattered far apart, and had nothing but light armor, and might, according to the Messenians, be subdued without much difficulty before succours could arrive. [5] The plan which they recommended was to attack first the Apodotians, next the Ophionians, and after these the Eurytians, who are the largest tribe in Aetolia, and speak, as is said, a language exceedingly difficult to understand, and eat their flesh raw"*. Thucydides 3.94.4

<sup>5</sup> *"And the Aetolians were led by Thoas, Andraemon's son, even they that dwelt in Pleuron and Olenus and Pylene and Chalcis, hard by the sea, and rocky Calydon. For the sons of great-hearted Oeneus*

Greeks and certainly, there is a “consensus” in later historical sources, epigraphic sources and archaeological finds. What prompted Thucydides to record them as “barbarians” was their incomprehensible language (other than the *Attike Koine*), their primitive way of life (cities without walls), their lack of culture and sophistication (compared to the Athenians).

Safe results concerning the origin of the Macedonians (Greeks or barbarians) can only be achieved by carefully studying the primary sources, despite the fact they were not composed by Macedonian authors. Consequently, a crosscheck of those sources results in unquestionable theories, widely accepted by the academics.

In this essay, sources from the ancient historiography and epigraphy are thoroughly examined depicting how the Macedonian Kingdom existed during the Classical period. Paradigms and material that originate both from the Macedonian cradle and the South are provided in order to synthesize an integrated approach on the subject.

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*were no more, neither did he himself still live, and fair-haired Meleager was dead, to whom had commands been given that he should bear full sway among the Aetolians. And with Thoas there followed forty black ships”. Homer, The Iliad, 2.640.*

## 1. THE EARLIEST SOURCES

- Hesiod

“.... ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Διὶ γείνατο τερπικεραύνῳ  
υἷε δ'ὧω, Μάγνητα Μακεδόνα θ' ἵππιόχαρμην,  
οἷ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλύμπῳ δώματ' ἔναιον...”<sup>6</sup>

The first written source with reference to Macedonia comes from Hesiod's, “Catalogue of women”<sup>7</sup>. According to it, Thyia, conceived and bore to Zeus (who delights in the thunderbolt) two sons, Magnes and Macedon, rejoicing in horses, who dwelled around Pieria and Olympus. The close ties and the family connection between the Macedonians and Magnetes, are clearly stated in the specific fragmentary text. They were both considered Hellenes, pure descendants of Deucalion and Pyrrha and cousins of Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus<sup>8</sup>. In other versions of the myth, Macedon was the son of Aeolus and brother to Dorus and Xuthus (Dorian and Ionian ancestors)<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, Diodorus of Sicily stated that Macedon was the son of Lycaon (the son of Pelasgus) or even, the son of Osiris<sup>10</sup>. In either one of these cases, the myth doesn't provide us with historical facts, but clearly displays the wide-spread conception of the relationship amongst the two (the Macedonians and the Greeks) and their Hellenic origin. As Prof. Xydopoulos argues, epigraphical sources from Chalcis attests to the intimate relationship between the Magnets and the Macedonians<sup>11</sup>. According to this inscription, Philip V recommended to the “*Voule*”

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<sup>6</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenn. De them. 2 (p. 86 sq. Pertusi)

<sup>7</sup> The fragmentary text comes from the work “Peri Thematōn” of Constantinus Z' (Porphyrogenitus, 905-959 AD).

<sup>8</sup> This argument is both supported by K. J. Beloch, (*Griechische Geschichte*, τ. IV. I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1925) and P. Herman who also states that “*The close family relation between Macedon and Magnes was not a Hellenistic perception but an earlier belief, dating earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC*”, (*Πρακτικά του Η Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής επιγραφικής*, Αθήνα 3-9. 10. 1982). Moreover, N. G. L. Hammond states that: Hesiod would never have recorded the relation amongst the two and their Greek origin, unless he was certain of the fact. N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State*, pp. 12-3.

<sup>9</sup> Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 74.

<sup>10</sup> Diod. 1.18.1, 20.3

<sup>11</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 45.

and to the “*Demos*” of the Magnetes to accept the Macedonians’ participation at the games of Artemis Leufkophryinis, due to the close family relations of the two<sup>12</sup>.

However, several scholars stated that the Macedonians were not of Greek origin but had distant relations with the Greeks<sup>13</sup>. The fact though that the Magnetes were considered Greeks and the Macedonians were not, strikes as being ambiguous and contradicting in the sources. Too many questions were to be left unanswered if this assumption was correct. It is certain that in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, Hesiod would not have recorded the family relation of Magnes and Macedon unless he truly believed in it. Evidence also comes from Persepolis, 5 km away from Naqshi Rostam. At the forefront of Xerxes’ tumulus, there is an old Persian inscription with all the tribe's subjects to the Great King. In the text, there is a reference to certain people as *Yaunâ takabarâ*. In translation, it means “*Greeks with shield-like head hat*”. Those Greeks have been associated with the Macedonians which wore a distinctive hat, the *kausia*<sup>14</sup>. To conclude, it is evident that the Persians considered the Macedonians as Greeks.

At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the fifth century BC, Hellanicus from Lesbos (a Greek historian) visited Macedonia and modified Hesiod's genealogy. According to him:

ἄλλοι δ' ἀπὸ Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱερείων πρώτη τῶν ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ  
Μακεδόνοιο [τοῦ] Αἰόλου οὕτω νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες<sup>15</sup>

From the text, it is palpable, that Macedon was not a cousin but a son of Aeolus. According to the text, Macedon and his descendants are attested of belonging to the Aeolic branch of the Greek-speaking family. From the above, Hammond concluded that: *Hesiod, Persia, and Hellanicus had no motive for making a false*

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<sup>12</sup> Οἰστρατ[ηγο]ί εἶπαν [περὶ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλι[π]πος \ ἐγ[ρά]ψε]ν τῇ βουλή κ[αὶ τῶ] δῆμ[ο] [περὶ [Μ]αγνή]των των ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ, οἱ [συγγενεῖς ὅν]τεσ Μακεδόνων ἡξίουσαν τ[ον] ἀγων[α] ο]ν τιθέασι [τῇ] Ἀ[ρ]τέμιδι τῇ Λευκοφρυγῇ προσ- [δέξασθαι στεφανίτιν, Magnesia 47, 1-5.

<sup>13</sup> M L West, Crossland, *Linguistic problems of the Balkan area in late prehistoric and early classical periods*, CAH III. 1, Cambridge 1984, p. 843, Rosen, *Die Gründung der makedonischen Herrschaft*, Chiron 8 (1978), 3-4 M Zahrl, p. 350, not. 78.

<sup>14</sup> Hammond, 1986, p. 516.

<sup>15</sup> The fragment is saved in Eustathius of Salonika work, Bernhardt's edition of *A commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* (Leipzig, 1828, 8vo.), p. 427.

*statement about the language of the Macedonians, who were then an obscure and not a powerful people. Their independent testimonies should be accepted as conclusive<sup>16</sup>.*

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<sup>16</sup> Hammond, 1992, pp. 12-3.

## 2. HISTORIANS OF THE 5<sup>th</sup> CENTURY BC

The first historian who provided detailed and extensive references to Macedonia (both for the people and the Royal house), is Herodotus. In his work, he uses two different terms when referring to the region. As Xydopoulos stated in his thesis, *in fifteen cases Herodotus uses the term “Μακεδονίη”<sup>17</sup> and only once does he refer to “Μακεδονίς γη”<sup>18</sup>*. In the first case, the author uses this term in order to describe Amyntas’ Kingdom. It was a geographical term, which the author used to describe the regions with the clans that were subjected to the Macedonian King. That region also included Visaltia and Mygdonia where non- Greek tribes also inhabited<sup>19</sup>. By stating “Μακεδονίς γη” Herodotus refers to the first cradle, the nucleus of the Macedonians. That region occupied the area within Ludias and Haliakmon rivers. The variety of terms that the author uses in his work, “Μακεδών” and “Μακεδόνες”, is remarkable.

As in today’s modern Greek language, the distinctive term is used to identify the region of origin of certain clans, such as: Thessaloi (from Thessaly), Athenians (from Athens), Thesprotoi (from Thesprotia) etc. A fine example of this above mindset can be met in the quote 5.20.4. There, the King Amyntas is depicted as a man, a Hellen, a Macedon’s first mate (άνήρ Έλλην, Μακεδόνων ύπαρχος). The author of the specific passage had no intention of distinguishing the King's origin (whether he was a Greek or not) but, only meant to specify the region that he came from. Similarly, he wrote: *Αριστείδης Λυσιμάχου, άνήρ Αθηναίος*<sup>20</sup> and *Ευρυβιάδη τον Εύρυκλείδεω, άνδρα Σπαρτιάτη*<sup>21</sup>. In both cases, the origin of the men is distinguished and not the race.

Moreover, Herodotus did believe that Macedonians’ descend was from the Doric race. According to him:

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<sup>17</sup> Herodot. 5 17 (1), 5 17 (2), 6. 45 (I), 7 9α (2), 9β (2), 126 (2), 137 (I), 138 (2), 138 (3), 173 (1), 173 (4), 9 89 (4).

<sup>18</sup> Herodot. 7 127 (1).

<sup>19</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 48.

<sup>20</sup> Herodot. 8.79.2.

<sup>21</sup> Herodot. 8.42.6.



“ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαίωτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξάνεστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον.”<sup>22</sup>

additionally:

“Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρинеοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες”<sup>23</sup>

Earlier references to the name “Μακεδνής” is met in Homer, used to describe a tall poplar tree.<sup>24</sup> Hesychius of Alexandria uses the same adjective describing the Dorian origin of the Macedonians, describing them as “*heavenly great*”. From the above, it is safe to presume that the Macedonians were considered to be tall men, of the Dorian race. Nickolas Hammond alleges that the region “Μακέτα” belonged in the upper area of Haliakmon river and at the southern valley of it, “Μακεδνία”. The equivalent names were attributed to the inhabitants of those areas (Μακέται & Μακεδνοι)<sup>25</sup>. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, those two names were transformed into one: “Μακεδόνες”. Those people were concentrated at the “Μακεδονικὸν ὄρος”, north of the Mount Olympus, the cradle of the Macedonians which is identified in Herodotus’ work as the “Μακεδονίδα γῆ”.

The quality of the relations between Macedonia and Athens can be authenticated in several pieces of the historical evidence. The night before the battle of Plataea (479 BC), Alexander the 1<sup>st</sup> (who at the time was a subordinate to the Persians, a vassal) went secretly to the Greeks’ military camp in order to warn the Athenian generals about the plans of the forthcoming attack from Mardonius<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Herodotus 1.56.2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus 8.43.1.

<sup>24</sup> “Αἰ δ’ ἰστούς υφώσι καὶ ηλάκατα στρωφώσιν ἡμεναι, οἶα τε φύλλα Μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο”, Homer, Odyssey, η’, 106.

<sup>25</sup> Hammond, 1979, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> A small detail, significant though, is that according to the historian, Alexander arrived at the camp on his own without an interpreter. That is of course because Alexander was speaking the Greek language himself, contrary to the claims of certain modern historians by arguing that the Macedonian language was other than Greek. “*Macedonian is a mixed language either of partly Illyrian origin.*” Such

According to Herodotus, Alexander said to them: “αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλληνας γένος εἰμι τῶρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὀρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα”<sup>27</sup>.

The specific quote, emphasizes the Hellenic cultural awareness of the Macedonian King and his contribution in preventing the Greeks from a calamitous outcome, had they engaged in a battle against the Persians. For this precious piece of advice, a golden statue of Alexander was erected at Delphi and probably Olympia (by the Athenians) right after the battle of Plataea<sup>28</sup>. Alexander had already been awarded the “*proxenos*” and “*euergetes*” title, by the Athenians, at 480/79 BC<sup>29</sup>. A few years earlier, 507 BC, he had also intervened between the Athenians and the Persians in order to reconcile them and put an end to hostilities. Later on, he provided Athens with timber to build ships for the war against Aegina (a naval program of Themistocles, 483/2)<sup>30</sup>. During Alexander’s visit to Athens, before the battle of Plataea, his credibility was questioned by the Lacedemonians. He was sent there as a delegate of Mardonius to attempt an affiliation of the Greeks with the Great King<sup>31</sup>. The Spartans though, requested from the Athenians not to accept Alexander’s proposals since they considered him a barbarian. The position of the Lacedemonians can be very easily explained due to their fear that the Athenians might accept Mardonius’ proposals. Had they achieved an agreement, they would have remained exposed and isolated towards the Great King. It was only natural that Alexander, being a “*proxenos*” of Athens, invoked great skepticism from them<sup>32</sup>. Their animosity towards Alexander and

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was the position of G. Kazaroff, M. Rostovtzeff, M. Budimir, H. Baric; or “*of partly Thracian origin*”, as it was maintained by D. Tzanoff. “*Macedonian is a separate Indo-European language.*” This was the opinion of V. Pisani, I. Russu, G. Mihailov, P. Chantraine, I. Pudic, C. D. Buck, E. Schwyzler, V. Georgiev, W. W. Tarn and of O. Masson in his youth. Miltiades Hatzopoulos, VI International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia, 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 9. 45. 2

<sup>28</sup> Herodotus 8.121.2., Solinus 13.

<sup>29</sup> Badian, 1994, p. 119-26.

<sup>30</sup> For Meiggs, the Macedonian submission to the Persian King would have prevented them from providing the Athenians with timber. He also argues that if that was a historical fact, Herodotus would have mentioned such an act from the Macedonian ruler in his work. Meiggs, 1982, p. 121-5. Contrary to Meiggs, Borza stated that at this specific period Macedonia was not yet within the area of Persian military activity. Therefore, the Macedonian ruler would have been able to use the rich resources of timber from Olympus and the Pierian mountains, in the interest of the Athenians, without being noticed. Moreover, after Darius died (486) most probably Macedonia lost its vassal status to the Persians, which was only regained during Xerxes’ campaign against Greece. Borza, 1992, p. 109-10.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus 8.142.

<sup>32</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 54.

fear may very well be explained when they designated him, as a “*βάρβαρος*” (a barbarian).

Right after the war, Herodotus attests that Alexander’s golden statue stood right next to the tripod of the Athenians (a dedication at the sanctuary of Delphi, due to their naval achievements)<sup>33</sup>. Had the Greeks considered the Macedonians as a non-Hellenic tribe, they wouldn’t have made such a dedication to a PanHellenic sacred place.

Another evident statement of the positive “*vox populi*” of the “Greeks” towards the Macedonian King is the fact that, up to Demosthenes period, they had kept a clear remembrance of his contribution to the war against the Persians. The anti-Macedonian orator himself, despite his attempt to diminish the historical fact, made a clear reference to it. From the following passage, the distinction between the Macedonians and the barbarians from Persia is apparent and prominent:

*“On an earlier occasion, when Perdiccas 1<sup>st</sup>, who was king of Macedonia at the time of the Persian invasions, destroyed the barbarians who were retreating after their defeat at Plataea and so completed the discomfiture of the Great King, they did not vote him the citizenship, but only gave him immunity from taxes; because I presume, they regarded their own country as great, glorious, and venerable, and as something greater than any service rendered. But now, Athenians, you make citizens of the scum of mankind, menial sons of menial fathers, charging a price for it as for any other commodity”<sup>34</sup>*

Finally, Herodotus defines Hellenicity by stating four fundamental elements that were the criteria for being a Greek. Those criteria were, the: “*ὁμαίμων*” (of the same blood), “*ὁμόγλωσσον*” (of the common language), “*ὁμόθρησκον*” (of the same religion) and the “*ὁμοθητές*” (a common culture). This depicts a straightforward testimony to the ancient Greek conception of Hellenic ethnicity.

*“...αὐτίς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαίμων τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα”<sup>35</sup>*

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<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 8.121.2.

<sup>34</sup> Demosth., *On Organization* 13.24. Translation by C. A. Vince, M. A. and J. H. Vince, M.A. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1926.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus 8.144.

Throughout all of his work, the Macedonians met all of the above criteria. Therefore, it is pointless to assume that in certain cases the author attempted to distinguish them from the rest of the Greeks.

Right after the expansion of the Argead realm under Alexander, the term Macedonia was designated in order to describe the kingdom. At the very same moment, Thucydides wrote that *“the whole area is called Macedonia”*<sup>36</sup>. The word suddenly appeared, describing and defining a region that didn’t exist earlier. Alexander had succeeded in imposing his suzerainty on the Macedonian tribes of the eastern Pindus, henceforth known as “upper Macedonia”<sup>37</sup> and over the Thracian Bisaltae and the Crestonians to the east. Due to this fact, certain Athenians continued to perceive the specific area as being part of Thrace.

Many scholars have attributed great respect to Thucydides’ work. He was considered to be more thorough and careful with his sources of information and the validity of the myths, compared to Herodotus. He mainly relied on the real evidence, the eyewitnesses and his critical thought<sup>38</sup>. As Finley noted, *“his standard of accuracy was very high for the late fifth century B.C.”*<sup>39</sup>. Unfortunately, contrary to Herodotus work, Thucydides refers to Macedonia only in circumstantial cases. Those references to the region and its people are only related to the following events: The Battle of Potidaea (432/1)<sup>40</sup>, Sitalkes intervention in Macedonia (429)<sup>41</sup> and the expedition of Vrasidas to Chalcidice and Amphipolis (424)<sup>42</sup>. With regards to these events, fifteen times his references involve the region (*Μακεδονία*) and twenty-two times, its inhabitants (*Μακεδόνες*). The very first reference to the region is in his 2<sup>nd</sup> book. There he wrote: *“The country by the sea which is now called Macedonia... Alexander, the father of Perdiccas, and his forefathers, who were originally Temenidae from Argos”*<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Thuc. 2.99.6.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus 8.137.1, *Pol.* 5.97.3, Στρ. 7.7,9, Thuc. 2.100.5.

<sup>38</sup> Kurke, 2001, p. 129, Finley, 1986, p. 22, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Finley, 1986, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> Thuc. 1. 57. 2-4, 58. 1, 59. 1-2, 60. 1-3, 61. 2-4, 62. 4, 63. 1-2.

<sup>41</sup> Thuc. 2. 29. 7, 95. 1, 98. 1, 99. 6, 101. 1-6.

<sup>42</sup> Thuc. 4. 78-79. 1, 83. 1-5, 124. 1-4, 125. 1-2, 127. 1-2, 128. 3-5, 129. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Thuc. 2.99.3.

It is evident here, that the author adopted the Herodotean perception concerning the origin of the Macedonians from the Temenids.

One thing that characterizes his manners of writing is his obsession with detail and the fact that he was well aware of the providence<sup>44</sup>. The fact that he used the terms “*Μακεδονία*” and “*Μακεδόνες*” in so many different ways is rather problematic<sup>45</sup>. Elaborating on the previous text, the use of the terms must be distinguished, clarified to their references and correctly interpreted. Professor Xydopoulos suggested in his thesis that, the meaning of the words “*Μακεδονία*” and “*Μακεδών*” have a differentiated structure in Thucydides’ work<sup>46</sup>. According to him, the categories are:

### **Macedonia (*Μακεδονία*)**

- a. The first ones involve general references to the term “Macedonia”. For example, when describing the movements of the troops (onwards and backward from the region)<sup>47</sup>.
- b. The second one pertains to the quote 2.95.1., where he speaks of the Macedonian King. Perdiccas II is referred as the “King of Macedonia” (*βασιλεύς Μακεδονίας*)<sup>48</sup>. Further down in his work, the references to the King are quoted differently, he is mentioned as: “King of the Macedonians” (*βασιλεύς Μακεδόνων*).
- c. The third time Thucydides uses the term “*Μακεδονία*” is to describe the location of Dion<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 57.

<sup>45</sup> Thuc. 1. 57. 2, 58. 1, 59. 2, 60. 1, 61. 2-4, 62. 4, 63. 2 2. 29. 7, 80. 7, 95. 1, 95. 3, 98. 1, 99. 1-3, 99. 6, 100. 1, 100. 4-5, 101. 5 4. 78. 6, 83. 1, 124. 1 (twice), 125. 1-2, 126. 3, 127. 2, 128.

4, 129. 1 5. 83. 4 6. 7. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 57.

<sup>47</sup> Thuc. 1. 59. 2, 1. 58. 1, 60. 1, 61. 2-3, 2. 98. 1, 4. 129. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Thuc. 2. 95. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Thuc. 4. 78. 6.

- d. In the fourth category, the author refers to the region of “lower Macedonia” (κάτω Μακεδονία)<sup>50</sup>. The area where the Macedonian King had a dominative authority. By using the adverb “κάτω” it seems that Thucydides attempted to differentiate the region from the area of the “upper Macedonia” (τα ἐπάνωθεν ἔθνη Μακεδόνων)<sup>51</sup>.
- e. In the quote 2.101.5, Thucydides uses the term Macedonia (Μακεδονία) as a proper noun, to define the region from Botike and Chalcidice.
- f. Finally, he uses the same term (Μακεδονία) in order to define the region that used to be inhabited by people of different clans. Here the author also includes the tribes of upper Macedonia, the lower Macedonia and other races. Such were: the Thracians, the Bisaltae and the Crestonians<sup>52</sup>.

### **Macedonians (Μακεδόνες)**

When Thucydides referred to the Macedonian people (Μακεδόνες), twenty-two times in number, those references may be distinguished in the following categories<sup>53</sup>.

- a. In two different quotes, there is a general reference - once to the King Perdiccas and the second time to Amyntas. The first one, responds to Perdiccas as the legitimate King of the Macedonians<sup>54</sup> and the second time to Amyntas as an eligible King to become (upon Sitalkes wish) <sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> The same area, according to some scholars, is also described as “ἡ παρά θάλασσαν νυν Μακεδονία” Classen, 1897, p. 191. Hude, 1927, p. 16. Zahrnt, 1984, not. 54.

<sup>51</sup> Thuc. 2. 99. 1-3. For the identification of the region of Lower Macedonia with the state of Perdiccas, the Lyncistes, Elimiotas and Orestis with the genders of Upper Macedonia, refer to: J. Classen-J Steup, *Thucydides*, ed. II, Berlin 1914, p. 190 A W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, ed. II, Books II-III, Oxford 1969, p. 247. N G L Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford 1967, p. 422 and Macedonia, ed. II, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup> Thuc. 2.99.6. “ἐκράτησαν δέ και των άλλων εθνών οι Μακεδόνες ούτοι, α και νυν ἐτι ἐχρoοσι, τόν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα και Γρηστωνίαν και Βισαλτίαν και Μακεδόνων αυτών πολλήν. το δε ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται, και Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεύς αυτών ην οτε Σιτάλκης ἐπήει”.

<sup>53</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, pp. 59-60.

<sup>54</sup> Thuc. 1.57.2, 2.29.7.

<sup>55</sup> Thuc. 2.95.3.

- b. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> description, the author uses the term to specify the clan of the Lyncestians, whose King was Arrabaios<sup>56</sup>.
- c. The 3<sup>rd</sup> category consists of references to the term "*Macedonians*" (*Μακεδόνες*), defining them as a united military power of defense, against the barbarians<sup>57</sup>.
- d. In the fourth category, quote 4.126.3, in the speech of Vrasidas towards his soldiers, the Macedonians are depicted as barbarians. Certainly, there is a distinctive difference between this text with the previous one (4.125.2) where the Macedonians are referred differently and in contradiction to the barbaric Illyrians. What strikes as being remarkably odd is the contrast between the two texts.
- e. The last time Thucydides refers to the Macedonians was when the Athenians navally blockaded the formers, in 417/6 BC. They accused Perdiccas of being unfriendly towards them for he became allied with the Argives and the Lacedaemonians. Also, when the two major powers (the Athenians and the Macedonians) were preparing for a campaign against the Chalcidians of Thrace and Amphipolis (led by Nicias of Nisiratos), Perdiccas did not meet his obligations. As a result, the campaign was finally dissolved<sup>58</sup>.

### Analyzing the evidence

The previous records clearly depict that the terms "*Macedonia*" and "*Macedonians*" in Thucydides have had a series of different meanings. Of great interest is the quote 2.99.6, where the author refers to the dominance of the Macedonians over certain tribes and their subjugation of various regions, under one man's authority. This whole region which emerged after the subjugation, is referred

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<sup>56</sup> Thuc. 4.83.1.

<sup>57</sup> Thuc. 4.124.1., 4.125.1 and the text where the Macedonians are in contradistinction to the Illyrians (4.125.2).

<sup>58</sup> Thuc. 5.83.4.

to as “Macedonia”<sup>59</sup>. Since Perdiccas was verified as living at the same time as the “King of Macedonia” (βασιλεύς της Μακεδονίας) and as the “King of the Macedonians” (βασιλεύς των Μακεδόνων), *a priori* it means that he was the sovereign both of the lower part of the region (the hindeland: Pieria, Bottiaea, Almopia, Crestonia, and Mygdonia) but also, for the “upper” regions (Lyncestae, Elimiotae, and other ‘inland’ tribes, subject to the King at the time)<sup>60</sup>.

The social structure in upper Macedonia was widely based around the ethne, cultural and regional associations. Those people lacked both a central urban center and a formal political union. As Hammond argued, during the Classical period those people were considered by many Greeks, as a primitive form of social organization<sup>61</sup>. Upper Macedonia, but also the mainland due to their geographical isolation, prevented them from experiencing the prominent *polis* system. Therefore, they were inclined towards pastoralism<sup>62</sup>. For the Southern Greeks and for Thucydides as well, those tribes inhabiting in those small urban settlements with their obsolete lifestyle were regarded as “barbarians”<sup>63</sup>. For Hammond: *Those who did not participate in the world and the ideas of the Greek city-state were “barbaroi”*<sup>64</sup>. It is evident from the above, that in certain cases, Thucydides made use (willingly or not) of a characterization that was commonly believed by certain people of the South. Therefore, it stands to reason to concentrate on the specific quotes where the Greek origin of the Macedonians is questioned.

Contrary to Herodotus, all of Thucydides references are made in the plural (Μακεδόνες, Μακεδόνων etc.) rather than in nominative case (37 cases)<sup>65</sup>. Clearly, his conception of Macedonia had a wider meaning. Since it was widespread within the

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<sup>59</sup> Many scholars attribute the identity of the Macedonians of the specific quote (2.99.6) with the clans existed in the upper Macedonia region whilst they are considered of being subjects to King Perdiccas. Hude, 1927, p. 246. Hammond, 1984, p. 422. Zahrnt, 1984, p. 345. Rosen, 1978, p. 14. Edson, 1968, p. 27, Hornblower, 1991, pp. 374-375.

<sup>60</sup> Classen, 1897, p. 247.

<sup>61</sup> Hammond, 2000, pp. 347-50.

<sup>62</sup> However, recent archaeological excavations at Aiani have provided evidence that the Macedonians were not so much culturally and socially distant from the city states organization.

<sup>63</sup> Characteristic is the example where Thucydides in the quote 2.80.5-7, describes the Epirotes as barbarians, due to their cultural way of leaving.

<sup>64</sup> Hammond, 1979, p. 45.

<sup>65</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 60.



area secluded by the Axios and Strymon rivers, where Thracian tribes also inhabited, it was considered as a “multinational” region. This distinction between the terms and the multinational character of Macedonia at the time, contributed to the misconception and characterization of its inhabitants, from Southern Greece, as “barbarians”.

In one of his passages though, his reference to the Macedonians is very discriminative. More specifically, in the quote 4.124.1, the author wrote that: during the collaboration between the Spartan general Vrasidas and the Macedonian King Perdiccas II during a military campaign in upper Macedonia, the general was in charge of the Peloponnesian army and the soldiers from Chalcidice<sup>66</sup>. Meanwhile, Perdiccas was in command of *the Macedonians* and *the Greeks* which resided in his country. Thucydides continues with his description by stating that the *Greek* hoplites were 3000 in total and that the cavalry consisted of 1000 *Macedonians* and *Chalcidians*. Also, he states that many “barbarians” followed the formation of the army.

The *Hellenes* and the *Macedonians* appeared to be designated as independent ethnic identities<sup>67</sup>. The author divides the men who were under the authority of Perdiccas into three categories. The Macedonians, the Greeks (who lived in his Kingdom) and a certain number of barbarians. Macedonians, are both separated from the barbarians and the Greeks, as different identities. Rhodes suggested that the Macedonians’ function was that of an “intermediate” between the Greeks and the barbarians<sup>68</sup>. To take it a bit further, there is no evidence that Thucydides intended stating that the Macedonians were non-Greeks but only to distinguish them (*Μακεδόνες ὧν ἐκράτει Περδίκκας*) from the non-Macedonian Greeks who were living in Macedonia<sup>69</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> The specific quote has been widely discussed from several scholars who attempted to provide false evidence claiming that the Macedonians were not of Hellenic origin, that is why the author distinguished the men so thoroughly Classen, 1900, p. 243, Gomme, 1966, p. 613, Roussel, 1922, p. 290. Hammond, 1986, p. 534.

<sup>67</sup> That distinction only appears during this period for later on, the era of Alexander’s III conquest and the Hellenistic period of the successors, it became less rigid. There was Greek-Macedonian alignment, opposed to the foreigner peoples of Egypt and the near East.

<sup>68</sup> Rhodes, 2007, p. 306.

<sup>69</sup> Sourvinou, 2002, p. 191.

Historical evidence affirms that the Greeks did not consider the Macedonians, inhabiting in the nucleus of the region, as *barbarians*. A fine example justifying this assumption can be traced in the quotes, 2.99.3 and 5.80.2. The author himself emphasizes the Argive descent of the Macedonian King Perdiccas. Conclusively, there were no hesitations concerning the Greek origin of the Macedonians and their intimate connections to Heracleid ancestry (certainly not for those who lived in the cradle of the kingdom).

In the *Shadow of Olympus*, Borza analyzes the myth transmission of the Temenids descent in two chapters, by Herodotus and Thucydides. In pages 82-3, the author concludes that: *"It is clear that the analysis of our earliest-and sole-source cannot produce a consistent and satisfactory sequence of events. My own view is that there is some underlying veracity to the Mt. Vermion reference (as evidenced by the Phrygian connections), that among the Makedones a family of Vermion background emerged as pre-eminent, but that the Argive context is mythic, perhaps a bit of fifth-century B.C. propaganda (as I argue in the next chapter)"*<sup>70</sup>. Little argument is required here to controvert this assumption. One is the widely accepted historical fact of Alexanders' participation in the Olympic Games, as mentioned in Herodotus work<sup>71</sup>, most probably held in 476 BC<sup>72</sup>. The Olympic judges (*Hellandikai*) validated his Greek origin therefore, accepted him in the games<sup>73</sup>. Had they believed he was a *barbarian*, history would have been recorded slightly differently.

Secondly, why would Thucydides acquire the Macedonians propaganda by confirming himself the Argive descent of the King? Had it not been for his failure, while being a *strategos*, of saving Amphipolis from the hands of Vrasidas (an ally of Perdiccas II) at the battle of 423-22, during the Peloponnesian war? If the author himself did not believe in the accuracy of this piece of information, coming from Herodotus, he wouldn't have used it. Besides, since he addressed his intended readers, he wouldn't

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<sup>70</sup> Borza, 1992, p. 82.

<sup>71</sup> Herod. 5.22.

<sup>72</sup> For speculative dates of Alexanders participation in the games see, Roisman, J., A companion to ancient Macedonia, p. 142. U.K.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

<sup>73</sup> The Pindaric ode fragments 92 and 93, also praises Alexanders' participation in the games and his victory at *pentathlon*. Justin also refers to the same event in 7.2.14 quote.

have stated differently what common opinion considered to be a fact. Jonathan Hall stressed this point in a penetrating analysis of the shifting definitions of Hellenicity in Herodotus. He wrote that Thucydides (contrary to Herodotus) did not view Greeks and barbarians “*as mutually exclusive categories*” but as “*opposite poles of a single, linear continuum*”<sup>74</sup>. The inhabitants of north-western Greece are considered barbarians not in the sense that their cultures, customs, or behavior are in direct opposition to Greek norms but, rather in the sense that their seemingly more primitive way of life makes them “*Hellènes manqués*”<sup>75</sup>.

Finally, it was not before the King Archelaus reign that anyone from the Macedonian royal house was depicted as a barbarian in all the existing historical sources. Only a few references exist concerning certain tribes that were attested as being barbarians. Those clans were finally subjugated under the “one man’s Kingship”, the Macedonian King. Answering the question whether the Macedonians were considered barbarians or not in Thucydides work, the author wrote: *it is ultimately a redundant question given the shifting semantics of Greekness between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. What cannot be denied, however, is that the cultural commodification of Hellenic identity that emerged in the fourth century might have remained a provincial artifact, confined to the Balkan peninsula, had it not been for the Macedonians*<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup> Hall, 2001, pp. 169-71.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Hall, 2001, p. 172.

### 3. Historians of the 4<sup>th</sup> century

During the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the references related to Macedonia and its people remain very scarce. These are only seen during several political conflicts between north and southern Greece, certain historical events and in philosophical discussions.

Thrasymachus from Chalcis (459-400) was a Greek sophist, a student of Plato and Isocrates the orator. In a fragment of his speech "*In favor of the Larisaeans*" (*ὑπὲρ Λαρισαίων*), an excellent example of political conflict can be displayed. In it, he refers to the Macedonians as being barbarians<sup>77</sup>. Nonetheless, it has been widely accepted that he was a fanatic anti-Macedonian. The background of this conflict was the intention of King Archelaus to reinstate the Thessalian kingship of Aleuades to the Lariseans<sup>78</sup>. As Heuß argued, the specific fragment cannot be perceived as a historical fact concerning the conception of the southern Greeks for the Macedonians<sup>79</sup>. The text was written by the author under extreme political pressure and due to the fact that he intentionally implied their lack of civility (according to his point of view). If that was the case, the Aetolians and the Acarnanians could very easily also be attributed as being *barbarians*<sup>80</sup>.

A fine example implicating the philosophical discussions concerning Macedonia comes also from Plato. In his famous Socratic dialogue "*Gorgias*", the author depicts King Archelaus as a very "*unjust*" person and a "*tyrant*" of the Macedons<sup>81</sup>. Due to the misdeeds he performed in order to ascend to the throne, he characterized the Macedonian King "*he is the most wretched of all the Macedonians*"<sup>82</sup>. And he continues by saying, "and I daresay some Athenians could be found who would join you in preferring to change places with any other Macedonian

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<sup>77</sup> "Καὶ μὴν ἐν Τηλέφῳ εἰπόντος Εὐριπίδου ὅτι Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους δουλεύουσιν;" (fr. 719 N. 2). Diels, 1922, p. 324.

<sup>78</sup> According to Daskalakis, the speech was a "*custom made sophisticated construct, with a propaganda character against Archelaus, either instigated by the oligarch opponents in Thessaly or by the Spartans*". Daskalakis, 1952, pp. 48-60.

<sup>79</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 62.

<sup>80</sup> Heuß, A. 1937, p. 366.

<sup>81</sup> Plato, *Alcibiades* 2 141c–143a.

<sup>82</sup> Plat., *Gorgias* 471 c.

of them all, rather than with Archelaus!”<sup>83</sup>. Had he not believed that the Macedonians were Greek as well, he wouldn’t have invoked such an example. Plato, in the specific text, only meant to confer harsh criticism on the King and certainly not his descent. Archelaus for Plato severely jeopardizes his dogmatic view of ethics. As a philosopher, he makes use of what linguists’ call, “psychological words”<sup>84</sup>. The author disapproves of Archelaus, in all possible aspects. However, never does he imply in his work that he was not of Greek descent. Contrary though, the presence of his student Eufraios in the courts of Perdiccas III and the letter of his nephew Speusipus towards Philip II provide us with the real evidence<sup>85</sup>. Undoubtedly, he considered the Macedonians as being Greeks.

Thucydides’ work broke off suddenly in 411 BC, probably due to his death. Yet, Xenophon, a young Athenian aristocrat, carried on his unfinished task writing about the Greek affairs. He covered the period right after the end of the Peloponnesian war up to 362 BCE. The author makes ten references to the term “Μακεδονία”<sup>86</sup>, twice he mentions the “Μακεδόνες”<sup>87</sup> and once he makes use of the epithet “Μακεδονικός” in his work *Hellenica*<sup>88</sup>. His perception of the region and its people aligns with that of Plato’s. General references to the region and its people are attested in his work “*Memorabilia*”, “*Hellenica*” and “*Agesilaus*”.

As Xydopoulos has argued, Xenophon’s references to the region of Macedonia meant to describe the territorial boundaries of the area in contradiction to Thrace<sup>89</sup>, Olynthus<sup>90</sup>, Asia (as part of Europe)<sup>91</sup> and in conjunction with Pieria<sup>92</sup>. Also, in a quote from “*Hellenica*” the region is described as Amyntas’ II dominion<sup>93</sup>. His references to the Macedonians are all connected to its peoples and soldiers, as subjects of the King.

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<sup>83</sup> Plat., *Gorgias* 471 d.

<sup>84</sup> Wittgenstein, 2009, pp. 478-9.

<sup>85</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 1. 1. 12, 4. 3. 3., 5. 2. 12., 5. 2. 13 (twice), 5. 2. 38., 5. 3. 18., 6. 1. 11, Memorand. 3. 5. 11., Ages. 2.2.

<sup>87</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 5.2. 12., 5. 2. 40.

<sup>88</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 63.

<sup>89</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 5.2. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 5. 3. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Xenoph., *Memorand*. 3.5.11.

<sup>92</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 4.3.3.

<sup>93</sup> Xenoph., *Hellenic*. 5.2.13.

The overall view of Xenophon's work doesn't provide the smallest means to distinguish the northern Greeks from the southern. Never did he question what was widely accepted in the period he wrote, that the Macedonians were not considered Greeks.

The same subdivision of the Greeks in three categories, to Hellenes, Macedonians and barbarians continued to exist in the work of the Athenian orator/politician, Isocrates (436-338 BC). During his lifetime, he witnessed and wrote about the Peloponnesian war and the transition of the Golden age of Athens, to its decline.

The Orator attests the Greek origin of King Philippos II (as a descendant of the Temenids from Argos)<sup>94</sup>. In three quotes of his same work though (*Ισοκράτους Προς Φίλιππον*), he distinguishes the Macedonians from the Greeks. Firstly, he discriminates the Greek cities from Macedonia<sup>95</sup>. There, Philip's ancestor established his Monarchy rather than dictating his authority by force in the Greek cities. In another quote, he refers to the Macedonians as being: "*not of the same race*" (*οὐχ ὁμοφύλου γένους*)<sup>96</sup>. The third reference comes from the epilogue of the letter that Isocrates had sent to King Philippos. There, the author requests from the King (due to his Hellenic descent) to act as a benefactor to the Greeks and to subjugate as many *barbarians* possible<sup>97</sup>.

From the specific quotes, it is evident that according to the author the Macedonians were not of the same race as the Greeks "*οὐχ ὁμόφυλον*". At the same time though, they were not also *barbarians*. Both for the Greeks and the Macedonians, there were other tribes (such as the Persians, the Illyrians, the Thracians etc.) who were considered barbarians. But also, there were other clans (not barbarians, not Macedonians, not Greeks) who were suffering under the cruel subjugation from the barbarians. They were the "*Others*" (*τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γένος*)<sup>98</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 32.

<sup>95</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 107.

<sup>96</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 108.

<sup>97</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. (5) 154.

<sup>98</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. (5) 154.

Why then did the adherent of Philip, in other respects, attest such an icon of Macedonia and its people in his work? In order to attempt to find an answer, those references need to be analyzed.

Firstly, the use of the terms *Macedonia* and *Macedonians* will be examined throughout his entire work. As Xydopoulos argued, Isocrates used six times the term “*Μακεδονία*”. The first definition that can be applied to the term is when the region is generally mentioned, with regard to territorial means<sup>99</sup>. The second one refers to the whole state, subject under the authorities of King Philippos 2<sup>nd</sup> and Amyntas the Third<sup>100</sup>.

Whereas, Isocrates’ reference to the “*Μακεδόνες*” can be distinguished in three categories<sup>101</sup>. The first one consists of the quotes where Amyntas is mentioned as being the King of the Macedonians (*Μακεδόνων βασιλέα*)<sup>102</sup>. The second refers to King Philip, who had concentrated in his court the “*greatest of the Macedonians*” (*Μακεδόνων ἔχει περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς σπουδαιότατους*)<sup>103</sup>. The last ones pertain to the quotes, already referred to, where the author distinguishes the Greeks from the Macedonians<sup>104</sup>. Unfortunately, from the previous analysis, a safe conclusion cannot be exported.

An interesting aspect concerning the author's conception of Hellenicity comes from another quote. In his letter to *Archidamus*, Isocrates stated that the ethical virtues of a person are those that may define him as a Greek and not the commonly spoken language<sup>105</sup>. Also, in his *Panegyricus* he stated that: Due to the development of Philosophy and Literature by the Athenians, they had become tutors of the “others”<sup>106</sup>. For him, the name *Hellen* does not describe a person of the same origin but one that has a cultivated culture and education<sup>107</sup>. From the period of the

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<sup>99</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 20, 107.

<sup>100</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 107. & *Arch.*, 46b-46c.

<sup>101</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 76.

<sup>102</sup> Isoc., *Panegyricus*. 126 & *Arch.* 46 A.

<sup>103</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. (5) 19.

<sup>104</sup> Isoc., *Philip*. 107, 108, 154.

<sup>105</sup> Isoc., *Archidamus*. 8-9.

<sup>106</sup> By stating the “others” in the specific quote I believe that he was not only referring to the other Greeks but to other tribes/clans, as well.

<sup>107</sup> Isoc., *Panegyricus*. (4) 50.

Archelaus and significantly during Philippos' reign, the arts and the letters had been widely inseminated in the Macedonian Kingdom (as has been well documented in the sources). Therefore, according to Isocrates' belief about education, it is hard to imagine or speculate that he considered the Macedonians as barbarians or of a different origin.

Why then did Isocrates distinguish the Macedonians from the Greeks? A part of the answer might be hidden in his text, *Evagoras*. There, the author describes the history of *Salamis*. Despite the fact that he considered it to be a Greek colony, he wrote that it ended up in the hands of a Phoenician ruler. This ruler, “ἐξεβαρβάρωσε” (conjugated/annihilated the barbarians) the region and handed over the whole island to the Persian King. Sometime later, Evagoras reconstructed it and managed to “reform” its inhabitants to “Greeks” again<sup>108</sup>. From the specific quote, it is evident that according to the author's belief: while the people of Salamis had become barbarians, they didn't produce any kinds of art, they lacked in commerce and didn't even have a port. From the above, one can deduce that Isocrates certainly was not thinking of Philip (since he was a descendant of Heracles), as being a *barbarian* or of another origin. Otherwise, he would not have asked him to lead the Greeks against the *barbarians*.

An approach to similar references of other orators from the same period might provide the answers to the question. In many of Thucydides' orations, when he refers to Greeks from another race, he makes use of the same epithet “ἀλλόφυλος”. For instance, in 468 BC (3<sup>rd</sup> Messenian war) when the “Ἐἰλωτες” rebelled and resorted in the fortress of Ithomi, the Spartans asked for the help of the Athenians to confront them. The battle lasted for a long period and the Lacedemonians, due to the prolonged stay of the Athenians, had decided to send them away for they considered them as “troublemakers”, “liberals” and “ἀλλοφύλους”<sup>109</sup>. Other examples of similar discrimination amongst the Greeks are met in Thucydides specific quotes: 1.102.3, 4.64.4 etc.

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<sup>108</sup> Isoc., *Evag.*, 19-20.

<sup>109</sup> Thuc. *Hist.*, 1.102.3.



Contrary to the above, other authors recorded that Macedonia was a Greek state. According to Aeschines, Macedonia was a Greek state which participated in the Panhellenic symposium in Sparta and the Macedonian envoy of Amyntas as one of the Greek participants<sup>110</sup>. Also, in Polybius *Histories*, *Lykiscus* stated that the Macedonians are considered as of the same race (*Μακεδόνας ὁμοφύλους*) to the Aetolians<sup>111</sup>.

Isocrates refers to the Macedonians as “*ἄλλόφυλος*” but at the same time, he clearly defines whom he considered being *barbarians* in his work (Illyrioi, Dadanoi etc). In a quote from *Isocrates*, he clearly stated that: *Amyntas, king of the Macedonians. Worsted in battle by the neighboring barbarians, and robbed of all Macedonia, he at first proposed to quit the country and save his life*<sup>112</sup>. From the above, it is safe to conclude that when the author mentioned the Macedonians as “*ἄλλοφύλους*”, he didn’t mean anything more than defining them as “*of a different race*”. This disintegration amongst the Macedonians, the Greeks and the barbarians must have been, as Xydopoulos suggested, due to its geographical distance of the area from what was known or considered to cover the Hellenic territory<sup>113</sup>. Moreover, as has been elaborated, this distinction between the Greeks from the Macedons, was also due to Isocrates’ perception of the democratic regime (acquired by the Greek cities). Monarchy, as a governing system, was something totally distant and “foreign” to his political view. Besides, the author himself, in his attempt to persuade the Macedonian King to campaign against Asia, stated about Philip that: not only was he a Greek but, he was the greatest one amongst them.

“καὶ συναχθεῖσαν ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, ταύτην ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος μὴ νομίζουσιν ἂν ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ διαλυθῆναι”<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Aeschin., 2.32. “*Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων συνελθούσης, εἷς ὢν τούτων Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατὴρ καὶ πέμπων σύνεδρον καὶ τῆς καθ’ αὐτὸν ψήφου κύριος ὢν, ἐψηφίσατο Ἀμφίπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων συνεξαρεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίους*”.

<sup>111</sup> Polub. 9.37.7.

<sup>112</sup> Isoc. 6.46. Link: <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&query=Isoc. 6.44&getid=1>

<sup>113</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 78.

<sup>114</sup> Isoc. 5.139.

“ὅστις γὰρ ἔθνη τοσαῦτα τυγχάνεις κατεστραμμένος ὅσας οὐδεὶς πῶποτε τῶν ἄλλων  
Ἑλλήνων πόλεις εἴλεν”<sup>115</sup>

and....

“πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἃ  
μόνα τῶν ὄντων καὶ πείθειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πέφυκεν· ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα  
προσδεήσεσθαι”<sup>116</sup>.

Demosthenes' work is rather differentiated than that of Isocrates. Most of it is characterized by his anti-Macedonian sentiment and his political opposition to King Philippos II. He attempted to draw a parallel line between the Macedonian King and Xerxes by projecting them as persons, whose only intentions were to subjugate Greece<sup>117</sup>. For the author, it is evident that Philippos had no connection to the *Hellenes*. The King was nothing more than a mere barbarian who originated from a despicable place (Macedonia)<sup>118</sup>. For Demosthenes, the Macedonians and their regime were a major threat to the Athenian economy and constitution.

His first speech against the Macedonian's King was held in 351 BC. During this speech towards the people of Athens, he blamed the Athenians for apathy for the rise of Philip diminishing at the same time his power. According to Demosthenes, Philip does not deserve the success that a king engenders. As shown in his speech:

*“Now in the first place, Athenians, there is no need to despair of our present position, however hopeless it may seem. For that which is worst in the days that are past and gone is just what affords the best assurance for the future. And what is that? It is that your affairs are in this evil plight just because you, men of Athens, utterly fail to do your duty; since surely, were you so placed despite every effort on your part, it would be hopeless to look for improvement”*<sup>119</sup>.

Demosthenes also accuses Philip of being unscrupulous, despotic, worthless and an alcoholic<sup>120</sup>. In the fragment 19, he refers to the similarities that the

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<sup>115</sup> Isoc. 5.142.

<sup>116</sup> Isoc. 5.15.

<sup>117</sup> Demosth., *On the Crown* 65.

<sup>118</sup> Demosth., 3<sup>rd</sup> Philip. 31.

<sup>119</sup> Demosth., 1<sup>st</sup> Philip., 1-13, 42-44, 49-51.

<sup>120</sup> See Demosthenes, 1<sup>st</sup> Philippic 1.5, 1.23, 2.5, 2.7, 18.

King had with Calias and other criminals that had been previously expelled from Athens' *Demos*. This rhetorical paradigm that he brought up, was to awake the morals of the Athenians by reminding them that similar, unethical behaviors had not been accepted in the city of Athens<sup>121</sup>. Moreover, he accuses Philippos of not having any kind of relation to the Greeks but that he was such a bad and unethical person that he couldn't even be a barbarian<sup>122</sup>.

The treaty of Philocrates that put an end to the 3<sup>rd</sup> sacred war and the battle between the Macedons and the Athenians, was a turning point for the author. Demosthenes, Philocrates and Aeschines were members of the Athenian embassy approaching Philippos, for conducting the treaty<sup>123</sup>. After the negotiations reached a dead end, he became a "sworn enemy" of the Macedonian King. Furthermore, he accused Aeschines of his pretext "*On the embassy*". Aeschines requested from Philip to enter central Greece as the champion of the Amphictyonic forces<sup>124</sup>. Demosthenes claimed that he had accepted bribes from the King. Nevertheless, his hatred had started a long time before this incident. In order to investigate his work thoroughly and determine the purposes of this hatred, a prerequisite is to analyze the sources. As Mr. Xydopoulos suggested, the references of the author to Macedonia and the Macedonians can be distinguished into the following categories:

### **Macedonia**

1. In fourteen cases, the author makes references to the region, in general terms. In these cases, either he mentions troops or simple persons movements forth and back to Macedonia<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>121</sup> Demosth., 1<sup>st</sup>. *Philip.*, 19.

<sup>122</sup> Demosth., 1<sup>st</sup>. *Philip.*, 9.30.

<sup>123</sup> From 356 BC, right after Philippos capture of the Athenian colonies of Pydna and Potidaea, the Macedonia and Athens were in war. It was the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sacred War, fought between the Macedonians and the Delphic Amphictyonic league. The war ended in 346 with the victory of the Macedonian King and the Athenian Assembly, passed a motion re-affirming the Peace of Philocrates.

<sup>124</sup> Aesch. *On the Embassy* 2.94.

<sup>125</sup> Demosth., 7.13 (twice), 12.5, 17.28, 18.30, 32, 73.19, 155, 196, 286, 307, 311.50, 47, 50. Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 65.

2. References to previous kings (prior to Philip) are also authenticated. These are mentioned either as “*βασιλεύσαντες Μακεδονίας*”<sup>126</sup>, or as “*βασιλεῖς Μακεδονίας*”<sup>127</sup>.
3. Description of the geographical region of Methone in Macedonia is quoted here<sup>128</sup>.
4. The state of Macedonia is differentiated from Amphipolis<sup>129</sup>, Olynthus<sup>130</sup>, Potidaea<sup>131</sup>, Thrace<sup>132</sup> and Thessaly<sup>133</sup>.
5. Macedonia is referred to as the region where Athens imported timber from and in prior times, acquired taxes<sup>134</sup>.

It is evident that the use of the term Macedonia in Demosthenes isn't differentiated (if compared) from the ones from the other authors of the period. In contrast, the way he describes the Macedonian people is rather different.

### **Macedonians**

- Five quotes refer to King Philippos as, “*King of the Macedonians*” (*βασιλέα Μακεδόνων*)<sup>135</sup>.
- In seven cases the author refers contemptuously to the King as, “*Philip of the Macedonians*” (*Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδών*)<sup>136</sup> or as just “*Μακεδών*” (defining his ethnicity)<sup>137</sup>.
- Demosthenes makes use of the epithet “*Μακεδών*”, distinguishing ethnically and compared/contradicted to an

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<sup>126</sup> Demosth., 11.16, 13.24, 23.200.

<sup>127</sup> Demosth., 1.9, 6.20, 11.22.

<sup>128</sup> Demosth., 50.46.

<sup>129</sup> Demosth., 10.12.

<sup>130</sup> Demosth., 9.11.

<sup>131</sup> Demosth., 6.20.

<sup>132</sup> Demosth., 8.14.

<sup>133</sup> Demosth., 8.14.

<sup>134</sup> Demosth., 7.12.

<sup>135</sup> Demosth., 18.39, 18.77, 18.157, 18.166, 18.167.

<sup>136</sup> Demosth., 18.90, 18.155, 18.181.

<sup>137</sup> Demosth., 7.6, 23.111.

Athenian (who was considered a Hellen, whilst a Macedonian was not)<sup>138</sup>.

- The “*Macedonians*”, as subjects to King Philip and Alexander III<sup>139</sup>.

From the previous analysis of the references, it is evident that the ethnological discrimination (compared to the Athenians) and characterization of the King as “a *barbarian*”<sup>140</sup>, “a *common enemy*”<sup>141</sup>, “a *thief*”<sup>142</sup> and “of another race” (*ἄλλοφύλου*)<sup>143</sup>, is only met in eleven quotes.

Although his speeches can provide an insight into Philip’s relationship with Athens, his purpose and method of delivery means must be received “*with the utmost suspicion*”<sup>144</sup>. In the exercise of rhetoric, the orator’s intention is to “rally” his audience against the Macedonian King. That means that he would not flinch from distorting the truth, the history or even the facts to place his words in the act. In the case of Philip, he would use any means to influence the Athenians per his beliefs that the Macedonian king was “*bent on ending the Greek and especially the Athenian independence*”<sup>145</sup>. Demosthenes believed so fiercely in the Democratic regime of Athens that he could never accept the monarchism of the Macedonians kingdom (and of course Philip’s himself). As a politician, he only desired to portray Philip as a barbarian so as to destroy his reputation by any means<sup>146</sup>.

In Demosthenes’s speech “*On the crown*”, he reveals himself and speaks harshly against Philip. That was because he did not believe that “*anyone was better qualified than himself to make proposals, to conduct embassies and to implement what had been decided*”, in this great time of crisis of Athens<sup>147</sup>. Even Theopompus

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<sup>138</sup> Demosth., 4.10, 7.11, 11.1.

<sup>139</sup> Demosth., 2.17, 11.9, 7.20, 26, 19.260.

<sup>140</sup> Demosth., 3.16, 17, 24, 9.31, 19.305, 308, 327.

<sup>141</sup> Demosth., 13.35, 15.24, 19.307.

<sup>142</sup> Demosth., 10.33-34.

<sup>143</sup> Demosth., 18.185.

<sup>144</sup> Buckler, 2000, p. 148.

<sup>145</sup> Errington, 1990, pp. 75-6.

<sup>146</sup> Demosth., 3<sup>rd</sup> Olynthiac 19.

<sup>147</sup> Flower, 1994, p. 146.

criticized Demosthenes for being impartial. Additionally, he expressed his full disapproval of his methods and stated his low opinion of Demosthenes' abilities as a statesman<sup>148</sup>.

In conclusion, Demosthenes had all the abilities to be and act as a politician. He could very easily distort the truth to make himself endeared to Demos (*demagogos*). Even Plutarch referring to Demosthenes stated that: "*he was inconstant in character and unable to remain faithful to the same policies or people for very long*"<sup>149</sup>. Finally, according to Borza's suggestion, Demosthenes was both an orator and a politician at the same time. Therefore, his references to Philippos cannot be considered other than "public statements of a politician" and not a historian<sup>150</sup>. Especially, since they concealed such a hatred sentiment against his opponent.

Unlike Demosthenes, who believed that being governed by a King was synonymous with being a slave and consequently a barbarian, Aristoteles did not stigmatize the Macedonian monarchy as a barbarous form of government. At the time of Aristotle, Athens was struggling through the bitterest phase of Democracy against the Macedonian monarchy. Royal rule was considered by many Athenians as a barbarous form of government suitable only for the slaves while the Republican *Polis* was the "free men" constitution. For Aristotle, the hierarchical structure of the society is expressed in the relationship of "*ἄρχειν*" (authority) and "*ἄρχεσθαι*" (being under the authority), which is determined by nature; others are by nature destined to rule and others to be ruled. As Roberts suggested, "*this relationship is firstly expressed in the distinction between the soul and the body and certainly in the relationship of male-female, master and slave, Greeks and barbarians*"<sup>151</sup>. It is a hierarchical and empowering relationship, a relationship of superiority and inferiority, sovereignty and subordination<sup>152</sup>. Aristotle, adopted the predominant view of the Greeks vis-à-vis the "barbarians". For the philosopher, the barbarians are *slaves by nature*<sup>153</sup>. He "spoke

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<sup>148</sup> Fox, 1980, p. 116.

<sup>149</sup> Plutarch, Demosthenes 13.1, Fr 326.

<sup>150</sup> Borza, 1992, pp. 5-6.

<sup>151</sup> Roberts, 2009, p. 59.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p. 116.

<sup>153</sup> "*βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας ἀρχειν εἰκός, ὥς ταυτό φύσει θάρβαρον καὶ δούλον ὄν*" Aristotle, *Politics* 1252 b.

loud” about the virtues of Democracy and declared that “*all men should share in the government*”<sup>154</sup>.

Aristotle followed the prevailing fundamental doctrine of the Athenian Democracy under the “lines drawn” by his tutor Plato. Contrary though, in his later work in *Politics* book III, he presented the six forms of constitutions (monarchy, aristocracy, polity, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy) to the Athenians. According to Aristotle, monarchy (under which the subject is excluded from all share in the government) is the best form of regime<sup>155</sup>. Nonetheless, it is not part of this thesis to examine this deviation to his political ethics and to examine his work. Could this “change” be attributed to his dwelling in Macedonia? Was it then that Aristotle appreciated the value of Monarchy as a form of government? The answer is positive to both questions.

In a quote from *Politics*, Aristotle wrote: *If, however, there be some one person, or more than one, although not enough to make up the full complement of a state, whose virtue is so pre-eminent that the virtues or the political capacity of all the rest admit of no comparison with his or theirs, he or they can no longer be regarded as part of a state; for justice will not be done to the superior, if he is reckoned only as the equal of those who are so far inferior to him in virtue and in political capacity. Such an one may truly be deemed a God among men*<sup>156</sup>. It is evident that the person to which the author refers to is no other than Philip (or his son, Alexander). Philip was worshiped almost as a God; a statue had been dedicated to him in Athens and Diodorus wrote: “*Such was the end of Philip, who had made himself the greatest of the kings in Europe in his time, and because of the extent of his kingdom had made himself an enthroned companion of the twelve gods*”<sup>157</sup>.

Hammond though, claimed that Aristotle distinguished the Macedonians from the Hellenes. His grounds for supporting such an argument comes from a quote from *Politics*. He claimed that: *some ethne and some of the kingships to which they*

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<sup>154</sup> Arist., *Polit.* ii. 1264 b.

<sup>155</sup> Arist., *Polit.* iii. 1285 a.

<sup>156</sup> Arist., *Polit.* 1284a. Translated by Jowett, B. *Politics, Aristotle*. N.Y.: Dover Publications.

<sup>157</sup> Diodorus, *Historical Library* 16.95.1-2

were prone were interested primarily in military achievements, for example, Scythians, Persians, Thracians, and Celts, and Macedonians who once had a law that a man who had not killed an enemy must wear a halter instead of a belt<sup>158</sup>. The comparison of the Macedonians to the Scythians, the Persians, the Thracians and the Celts indulged Hammond to claim that Aristoteles attributed the Macedonians as a different race than to Hellenes (therefore, as barbarians). The specific suggestion contradicts the fact that Aristotle himself was a Macedonian, coming from Stagira which at that time belonged to the Chalcidian League. Did he consider himself a barbarian? Certainly, he did not. Was he considered to be a barbarian from the side of Athenians? Definitely not, as he was accepted in the schools of Athens and he was Plato's apprentice. Had he thought of the Macedonians as barbarians, he wouldn't have accepted staying at the royal house, tutoring the offspring of Philippos. As Green suggested, it was Aristotle himself who suggested that Alexander the Great become: a *hegemon [leader] to the Greeks and a depot to the barbarians to look after the former as after friends and relatives and to deal with the latter as with beasts and plants*<sup>159</sup>. As already implied, Aristotle believed that slavery was a natural institution and that barbarians were by nature meant to be slaves. In the specific quote, the Stagirites encouraged Alexander to be a leader to Greeks and a despot to barbarians, treating the former as friends and the latter as beasts. Consequently, he considered Alexander and the Macedonians as *Hellenes* and not barbarians.

Moreover, there is much evidence documenting both the good deeds Stagirites did for Athens and the Greek cities and the diplomatic missions he undertook on behalf of the Macedonian King to Athens<sup>160</sup>. After his death at Chalcis (322), the Athenians drafted an inscription on a chiseled stone and was placed at the

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<sup>158</sup> Hammond, 1988, p. 180.

<sup>159</sup> Green, 1971, p. 58.

<sup>160</sup> Diodorus Siculus X V I. 52. 9; Demosthenes, Oratio X. 32, cited note 24, Valerius Maximus, V. 6, 5; Pl in y, Historia Naturalis VII. 109; Plutarch, Ne suaviter quidem vivi posse secum dum Epicurum 15 (Moralia 1097B); Dio Chrysostom, Oratio II. 79, and Oratio XLVII. 8; Aelian, Varia Historia III. 17.



Acropolis summit<sup>161</sup>. He was praised for his excellent services, his good deeds towards the Athenians, great virtues he carried and his interventions with King Philip<sup>162</sup>.

Finally, the specific quote is not the only one, where the author makes a comparison between different tribes (by presenting them as of being of the same ethnological race). In *Politics*, 1310 b (33-40), Aristotle makes a parallelism between the mythical King of Athens (*Kodros*), to the Persian King (*Kyros*) and the Kings of the Lacedemonians, the Macedonians and the Molossians. Here, the author only meant to present their contribution to their people and not to distinguish or compare them according to their tribes<sup>163</sup>.

It has been well attested, that due to the distinctive character of the region (compared to Southern Greece), the Macedonians had to face several dangers that lurked within its borders. Therefore, they had to either fight or to negotiate with the neighborhood tribes continuously. This could very well explain the suggestion of Xydopoulos that “*different cultural customs and behaviors might have been acquired by the Macedonians which alienated them to the southern Greeks*”<sup>164</sup>. Besides, the Athenians also distinguished and depicted the Lacedemonians as “*Xenoi*” due to their cultural differences.

Characteristic are the examples coming from Thucydides in *Pericles' Funeral Oration*. According to this oration, Pericles contrasted the Spartans to the Athenians, accusing the first of the excessive physical training they had while the second ones “*though more relaxed, were as courageous*”<sup>165</sup>. Later on, in the same work, he wrote that the Athenians “*philosophize without softness*” (*φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας*), again contradictory to the Spartan habits<sup>166</sup>. Certainly, those are not the only examples describing the alienated stranger, foreigner, barbarian the southerners considered other people of being, only because they were different from

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<sup>161</sup> Cf. details on the *Psephisma*, Haake, 2006b, pp. 332-4, Drerup, 1898, pp. 370-5, Marek, 1984, p. 161.

<sup>162</sup> Liddel, 2013, p. 94.

<sup>163</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 86.

<sup>164</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 86.

<sup>165</sup> Thuc. *Fun. Oration of Pericles*, 2.38-9.

<sup>166</sup> Thuc. *Fun. Oration of Pericles*, 2.40.

their “civilized” habits. Their concept of the “different” was in certain occasions harshly characterized and criticized as, *barbarian, alien and Xeno*. It is evident that nowhere in Aristoteles’ work were the Macedonians depicted as being of non-Hellenic origin. Hammonds suggestion can be only interpreted, as a misconception of the text or as a misfortunate judgment.

Aeschines introduced himself to the Political life of Athens right after the battle of Chaeronea (348 BC). At that time, he was sent as an ambassador to encourage an up rise of the Greek states against the Macedonian King. He served in the embassies to Philip, as did Demosthenes, elaborating on the Peace of Philocrates. For him, the only peace attainable was the *Common Peace*<sup>167</sup>. His conciliatory attitude towards Philip and his conservative policy led to a long-lasting dispute with Demosthenes<sup>168</sup>.

As Rhodes suggested, at the specific period the Greeks were divided into several contrasting categories: *Greeks and barbarians, slave and free, friend and enemy, insider and outsider, us and them*<sup>169</sup>. The anti-Macedonian environment that prevailed during that time, left the written concepts of Aeschines to record his views against the Macedonian King open to manipulation. He was “obliged” to hold up his arguments in accordance with the Athenians’ sentiment and certainly with the Politics<sup>170</sup>. In this context, the anti-Macedonian sentiment of the author can be well justified. In his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, Aeschines recorded several insulting remarks of Philippos and his son Alexander. He clearly expressed the sentiments of hatred he felt for them<sup>171</sup>. Another interesting quote, concerning the Macedonians, can be found in the same speech. In the specific text, he distinguishes the region of Macedonia from Greece<sup>172</sup>. Here, I fully agree with the suggestion of Prof. Xydopoulos’ writing that, *no means of ethnological discrimination can be attested in the specific*

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<sup>167</sup> One of the terms of the Peace of Philocrates was the surrender of Amphipolis to Macedonia. This term, for the majority of the Athenians, was unacceptable.

<sup>168</sup> Their court battles started in 343 BC., when Demosthenes prosecuted Aeschines for misconduct on the embassies and narrowly lost. While in 330 BC, Aeschines turned against Ctesiphon for his proposal of crowning Demosthenes for his great services to the state (336 BC).

<sup>169</sup> Rhodes, 1996, p. 11.

<sup>170</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 87.

<sup>171</sup> “γάρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὗτος ρήτωρ δις ἐπρέσβευσεν ἐν Μακεδονία...”. Aesch., *Against Ktesiphontos* 73.

<sup>172</sup> “Οὐκ ἐπιδημούντος ἐν Μακεδονία Φιλίππου, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδι παρόντος,”. Aesch., *Against Ktesiphontos* 73.

quote<sup>173</sup>. The author merely quoted a geographical differentiation of the region and not an ethnical segregation.

Right after the Peace of Philocrates (346 BC) and the interaction he had had with the Macedonian King, Aeschines' attitude towards Philippos changed. In his speech *"On the embassy"* (346 BC), he praised his accomplishments, his doughty deeds at the cups, his good memory, his eloquence and even his good looks (*ἐπαφρόδιτον*, equals to Aphrodite's beauties)<sup>174</sup>. Additionally, in the same work (*On the Embassy*), another quote is of great interest. In II. 32, he wrote: *For at a congress of the Lacedaemonian allies and the other Greeks, in which Amyntas, the father of Philip, being entitled to a seat, was represented by a delegate whose vote was absolutely under his control, he joined the other Greeks in voting to help Athens to recover possession of Amphipolis. As proof of this, I presented from the public records the resolution of the Greek congress and the names of those who voted*<sup>175</sup>. At this *"Congress of Sparta"* that took place in 371 BC, it is evident that Amyntas is referred to amongst the other Greeks and therefore clearly attested as a *Hellen* himself.

Therefore, Aeschines can be eloquently perceived as being a Macedonian-friendly author for his limited insulting references to the Macedonian King. This can be easily attributed to the prevailing political situation of Athens. Subsequently, he never referred to a Macedonian in the means of discriminating his/her ethnicity from the Greeks. On the other hand, as Harris suggested: *Polybius argued that all the men Demosthenes denounced as traitors were, in fact, true patriots who had their communities' best interests at heart. Far from betraying the liberty of the Greeks, the men who supported Philip brought their fellow citizens the benefits of peace and freedom*<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 87.

<sup>174</sup> Aeschin., 2.47.

<sup>175</sup> <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseuscgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=GreekFeb2011&getid=1&query=Aeschin.%202.29>

<sup>176</sup> Harris, 1995, p. 4.

- **Conclusions**

In the previous work, a thorough analysis of the primordial, historiographical sources was conducted. Certainly, there is more information available on the subject coming from other historiographers of other periods than the one examined (Justin, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Strabo, Arrian, Pausanias etc.). Yet, only the most representative historians, orators and politicians of the Classical period were chosen in order to identify and depict the Macedonian Kingdom from their point of view.

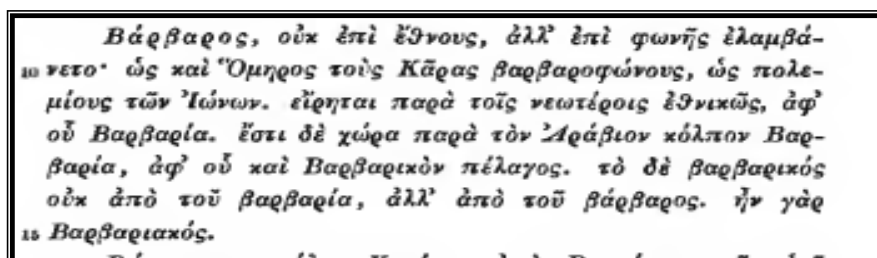
Distortion of these sources from modern historians has been attempted throughout time, either by negligence due to the background of the ancient authors, misinterpretation or even springing from their political and ethnological reasons. Nevertheless, the analysis of the sources examined attests to the evidence concerning the Hellenicity of the Macedonian Kingdom. The occasional references to the region of Macedonia or to its people, in the sources, clearly depict their perception of the Kingdom. Certainly, differentiation between the Greeks and the Macedonians in certain quotes has been found. As proven though, those mistakes only occurred due to the negligence of the distant-regional character of Macedonia or as a result of political reasons (Monarchy against Democracy, Athenian imperialism, etc.).

The Hellenic identity was established in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, due to the confrontations amongst the Hellenes and the Persians. Greeks defined themselves and obtained a clear ethnological character when they had to defend their territory, their culture, their families, the Gods they believed in. It was during the Persian wars that the Greeks grew a consciousness of a common Hellenism. It drew a line of a bond that linked those who were "*Hellenes*", opposed to those who were "*barbarians*"<sup>177</sup>.

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<sup>177</sup> For Hall, in the archaic period the self-definition of a Hellen was aggregative. It was defined by invoking similarities between peer groups or kin relationships with the Hellenic genealogy. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as depicted both by historiographers and the Greek art, a new ethnic conceptual stereotype was created. For instance, the Phrygians were depicted in art as clothed in eastern garments (the *anaxyrides* and the *kidaris*). The Thracians are identified by their *apolekis* (fox skin cap), the *zeira* (patterned woolen cloak) and *embades* (turned down fawn skin boots). The invention of a barbarian antitype provided a new mechanism for protecting and defining the Hellenic identity. In the historiographic sources the Egyptians are portrayed as deceitful, the Phrygians as cowardly, the Persians as luxurious, Lydians as sex addictive's etc. The "invention" of a barbarian can be described as the "antitypical" figure of what was rooted in Athenian, popular consciousness. The definition of who's a Greek was changing." While Isocrates based his traditional argument on bloodlines, Demosthenes

#### 4. THE MACEDONIAN DIALECT



Stephanus Byzantinus, *On the ethnics*<sup>178</sup>

This is how Stephanus Byzantinus defined the word barbarian, as prevailed during the Homeric period. He clearly corroborated that it was not an ethnical definition of the peoples but only due to the harsh/barbaric sounds of the language, other than the Greek, they spoke. Homer defined as “*βαρβαρόφωνους*” (speaking the barbarian language) the Karians whilst for him, *ethnos* were the companions in the battle fighting for the same purpose. As depicted in the following verse:

*“Τὸν δ’ ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς ἐν προμάχοισι φανέντα,  
κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ, ἃψ δ’ ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ’ ἀλεείνων”<sup>179</sup>.*

For Thucydides, the definition of the name *Hellas* did not have a general use during the Homeric period; each region was named according to the tribes that inhabited it. Thus, for him, the ancient Pelasgians were prevailing in numbers. It was during the Trojan War that the word *Hellen* began having a specific definition amongst those tribes in contrast to the “others” that were considered as barbarians. This assumption can be verified in the following ancient Greek text:

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used a newer, cultural definition: Philip and the Macedonians were less civilized. They didn’t act like Greeks therefore, they were not. As the author stresses, a Hellenic identity emerged when the Greeks began referring to themselves collectively as “Hellenes” rather than Athenians or Spartans. Athens, Hall says, *was a “key engineer” behind the shift from an ethnic, or descent-related basis, to a cultural one.* Several scholars argue that the Greeks considered only two categories of people, themselves and the barbarians. Hall contends that, *they more commonly considered identity on a continuum, one that allowed for climbing. A barbarian could ‘become’ Greek by adopting Hellenic practices, customs, and language.* Hall, 2005, pp. 179-186.

<sup>178</sup> Meineke, 1849, p. 158.

<sup>179</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, 3.30-2, translation by Polyas, I.

*“οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἶρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἕλληνάς πω, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐς ἔν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι”<sup>180</sup>.*

Who were the Macedonians? Was their language other than the Greek? Why were they defined in certain quotes, by different ancient historians, as speaking a different language?

As Pantelides has stressed, the Greek language was divided into different local dialects throughout the continent. For him, those dialects can be divided into four large categories. Those categories are based on the different areas they were being used, both in oral and written speech<sup>181</sup>.

1. Attic/Ionic: Euboea, Cyclades, Chalcidice, Thasos, Central Asia and nearby islands, colonies in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and Athens.
2. Arcadocypriot: Arcadia and Cyprus.
3. Aeolian: Thessaly, Boeotia, Lesbos (Thessalian, Boeotian, Lesbian) and the coastal areas of Asia Minor.
4. Western dialect (Doric): Epirus, Focis, Aitolokarnania, Peloponnese, Megara, Crete, islands of SE Aegean and opposite the Asia Minor coast, Eptanisa and the Doric colonies.

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, according to Pantelides, those dialects were gradually diminished and eventually disappeared. They were replaced by the Alexandrian Common, the form of the Greek language which dominated the Greek world and was based on a form of the Attic dialect which was immediately connected to the Ionic<sup>182</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> Thuc., *Hist. of the Peloponnesian war*, A 3.3-4.

<sup>181</sup> Pantelidis, 2007. Stable url:

[http://www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/studies/history/thema\\_07/index.html](http://www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/studies/history/thema_07/index.html)

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

In the Macedonian region, only a few fragments of the Archaic and the Classical period have been discovered. This absence of written evidence can easily be explained due to the political, economic, social and historical background. As Arrian quoted, the Macedonians before Philippos were poor nomads in constant battles against their enemies<sup>183</sup>. Under those harsh conditions, it was difficult for them to establish and develop the written language. Only after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, with the retrieval of the Kingship from Philip, did the conditions allow for the dissemination of writing and the defusal of the letters. As has been well attested, the Macedonians adopted the Milesian alphabet and the *Attic koine*. Before that, Macedonia was linguistically a heterogeneous area. The kingdom of the lower Macedonia, under the Argead Kings, was gradually expanded to upper Macedonia where the Doric dialect was spoken but also, to other neighborhood tribes (Thracians, Illyrians, Paeonians etc.)<sup>184</sup>. In the region of Pieria, where Thracians also inhabited, they were speaking their own language. East of the Axios River, in the present prefecture of Thessaloniki and in Chalcidice, dialects of the Phrygian and mainly the Thracian were spoken. Meanwhile, the two western "legs" of Chalcidice were held by southern Greeks who spoke various dialects<sup>185</sup>.

Some scholars have claimed that the Macedonians had acquired the Thracian or the Illyrian language, as their native. Crossland in his essay, *"Linguistic problems of the Balkan area in Late Prehistoric and early Classical periods"*, pointed out that the Macedonian language belonged to an Illyrian, Thracian or Thraco-Dacian language group<sup>186</sup>. Also, he claims that at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Macedonians were established between the *Tymphaea* in the west, *Pelagonia* in the North and the river *Axius* in the east. This last assumption, of course, can be easily rejected as it has been well documented that the cradle of the Macedonians was in Pieria. In his first argument, about the language, he based his theory on a quote from Polybius where he wrote: *Perseus, on arriving at Syberra, sold the booty, and rested his army waiting*

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<sup>183</sup> Arrian, Alexander's Anabasis 7.9.2.

<sup>184</sup> Thuc., 2.99

<sup>185</sup> Pantelidis, 2007. Stable url:  
[http://www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/studies/history/thema\\_07/index.html](http://www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/studies/history/thema_07/index.html)

<sup>186</sup> Crossland, 2005, pp. 836-9.

for the return of the envoys. Upon their arrival, after hearing the answer of Genthius, he once more dispatched Adaeus, accompanied by Glaucias, one of his bodyguard, and again by **Pleuratus owing to his knowledge of the Illyrian dialect**, with the same instructions as before, just as if Genthius had not expressly indicated what he was in need of, and what must be done before he would consent to the request<sup>187</sup>. What the author claimed was that *Pleuratus*, a Macedonian, was taken along because he was familiar with the Illyrian dialect. The fact though remains, that *Pleuratus* was the son of Scerdilaidas (an Illyrian king of the Ardiaean Kingdom) and followed his father's Illyrian dynasty<sup>188</sup>. Moreover, it was ascribed that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Macedonian war (200-198 BC), he supported the Romans and after their victory, he was awarded Lychnidus, the Parthini and other regions that had earlier been conquered from Philip<sup>189</sup>. The region that was occupied by the Illyrians and was named alike, is well attested by Appian. He wrote: *The Greeks call those people Illyrians who occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Danube. This is the length of the country. Its breadth is from Macedonia and the mountains of Thrace to Pannonia and the Adriatic and the foothills of the Alps. Its breadth is five days' journey and its length thirty – so the Greek writers say. The Romans measured the country and found its length to be upward of 1,000 kilometers and its width about 220*<sup>190</sup>.

Several linguists such as Muller, Kretschmer and others, indirectly claimed that the Macedonians were a non-Hellenic tribe, based on the peculiarity and the differentiation of their language in texts saved by Hesychius<sup>191</sup>. Kretschmer of course never claimed that the Macedonians were Illyrians or Thracians but that they were relatives of the Greeks, without being Greeks, since their language was different<sup>192</sup>. As Hatzidakis stressed<sup>193</sup>: Macedonians used the letter β (beta) against the φ (phi). For example, instead of φαλακρός (bold hair) they used to quote βαλακρός. Instead of

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<sup>187</sup> Translation: *The histories of Polybius*, Vol. V, The Loeb Classical Library edition, 1922.

<sup>188</sup> Livy, 29.12.13-14.

<sup>189</sup> Polyb., 18.47.12, 21.2.7, Livy, 31.28.1-2 & 33.34.10.

<sup>190</sup> Appian III. 1.1. Translation by Horace White, William Heineman, The Macmillan Co., New York, MCMXII

<sup>191</sup> Muller, 1825, pp. 60-5.

<sup>192</sup> Kretschmer, 1896, p. 288.

<sup>193</sup> Hatzidakis, 1902, pp. 29-30.



*Φερεκράτης, Βερεκράτης* etc. They used the letter  $\delta$  (delta) instead of  $\theta$  (theta). For example: *ἀδραία* instead *αἰθρία*, *Δάρρων* instead of *Θάρσων*, etc. And lastly,  $\gamma$  (gamma) instead of  $\chi$  (hi). For example: *Γαιτέας* instead of *Χαιτέας*, *άγερδα* instead of *άχερδος*, etc.

Correspondingly, those suggestions are rather intriguing since they tend to omit a very significant factor concerning the Macedonians and the region they inhabited. A safe and logical conclusion would be that Macedonia was established at a crossroads of different clans, surrounded by different tribes (not to mention their interactions and communications amongst each other). It is only natural that all these tribes were interconnected and certainly influenced their literal/language elements and their distinctive cultural environments. Instead, they neglected to take into consideration the outnumbered elements attesting to their Hellenic origin. As the sources reveal, the majority of the Macedonian names of the Kings, the soldiers and its people are clearly attributed to being Greek. Hatzidakis wrote: *Αλέξανδρος, Αλκέτας, Αμύντας, Ἀμυντωρ, Αντίγονος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἄρπαλος, Αρραβαῖος, Αρριδαῖος, Αρχέλαος, Ἄτταλος, Βερεκράτης, Βίλιππος, Βορραιος, Βρίων, Βρομερός, Δάδων, Δάρρων, Ἑκατερός, Κάλας, Κάραννος, Κάωνανδρος, Κοίνος, Κορραῖος, Κράτερος, Κράτενας, Κρίνων, Λαγός, Ααγίδας, Αεόννατος, Λιμναῖος, Μαχάτας, Μενίδας, Παρμενίων, Περδίκκας, Πενκέστας, Πολυσπέρχων, Πτολεμαῖος, Σέλευκος, Σταδμπα, Αδέα, Αρσινόη, Βερενίκη, Θεσσαλονίκη, Κλεοπάτρα, Λανίκα, Νίκαια, Ολυμπιάς, Φιλωτέρα*, etc.<sup>194</sup>. Furthermore, the names of the months in Macedonian calendar<sup>195</sup>, most of the toponyms<sup>196</sup> and religion names<sup>197</sup> are all Greek.

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<sup>194</sup> Hatzidakis, 1896, p. 25.

<sup>195</sup> *Δίος, Ἀπελλαῖος, Αὐδναῖος, Περῖτιος, Δύστρος, Ξανδικός, Αρτεμῖσιος, Δαῖσιος, Πάναιμος, Λώιος, Γορπιαῖος, Ὑπερβερεταῖος.*

<sup>196</sup> *Αἰγαί, Αιανή, Αιγίδιον, Ἄργος, Αλιάκμων, Ἄρνισσα, Βέρροια, Δίον, Εἰδομένη, Ευρωπός, Ὀρεσίς, Πέλλα, Μακεδνία, Μάκετα, Λεβαία, Βέρης, Πιερία, Ελικών, Ὀλυμπος, Λεῖβηθρα*, etc. An extensive study has been already held concerning the toponyms and their Greek names. For further reference read the following: O., Abel, *Makedonien roi König Philipp*, Leipzig 1847 A Fick, *Über die Sprache der Macedonier, Oient und Occident II* (1864), 718-729 O., Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Göttingen 1906 J I Russu, *Macedonica Ossei vazzioni sulla lingue e l'etnografia degli antichi Macedoni*, Ephemeiis Dacoiomana [Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma Vili], Roma 1938.

<sup>197</sup> *Δία, Εταιρίδια, Θαύλος, Ολύμπια, Ψευδάνωρ, Αραντίδες, Δάρρων, Θουρίδες*, etc.

The ancient Greek dialects of the 4th century BC gradually became reduced and eventually disappeared and were replaced by the Alexandrian Common (*Alexandrini Koine*), the form of the Greek language, which dominated the Greek world from the end of the 4th century B.C. and was based on a form of the Attic dialect enriched with elements from its immediate family, the Ionic. As Panayiotou has stressed, *the Macedonian dialect was obviously confined to intra-communal oral communication for the period that Macedonia was busy with its own varied survival or reorganization problems. When the conditions improved, the linguistic form was passed to the written word*<sup>198</sup>.

In this way, the use of the Macedonian and Doric dialect was confined to private texts, such as curse tablets, private contracts, etc. (not for public or official use). *Such examples are the dialectical curse table from Pella (Voutiras 1993, 1996, 1998), from Arethusa, at the end of the 4th / early 3rd century BC (Moschonissiotis, Christidis & Glaraki 1997) and from the tripod, an award from the Heraia of Argos (discovered at the grave of Philip of B in the Aiges - SEG XXIX, 652)*<sup>199</sup>.

Finally, even though only very few sources exist with references to the Macedonian language, certain quotes (from the ancient sources) clearly attest to the dialect that the Macedonians spoke (as directly connected to the Greek language). Titus Livy, when describing the political negotiations between Macedonians and the Aetolians (late 3rd century BC), he portrays a Macedonian ambassador arguing that the Aetolians, the Acarnanians and the Macedonians were speaking the same language<sup>200</sup>. In another quote from the same author, it is stated that: *“an announcement was translated from Latin to Greek for Macedonians to understand”*<sup>201</sup>. Quintus Curtius Rufus at *Philota’s trial* also stated that *the Greek-speaking Branchidae had a common language with the Macedonians*<sup>202</sup>. In a fragmentary dialogue between an Athenian and a Macedonian, as depicted in a fragment from a comedy play *“Macedonians”* from Strattis, a foreigner is depicted as speaking in a rural Greek

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<sup>198</sup> Panayiotou, 2010, pp. 319-25.

<sup>199</sup> Panayiotou, 2010, pp. 319-25.

<sup>200</sup> Livy, *The History of Rome*, 31.29.15, translated by Canon Roberts, Perseus.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, 45.29, translated by Canon Roberts, Perseus.

<sup>202</sup> Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, VII. 5.33, (Loeb edition, Latin).

dialect. His language contains expressions such as ὕμμες ὠπτικοί for ὑμεῖς ἀπτικοί (you, Athenians). Ὑμμες has been also attested in Homer, Sappho (Lesbian) and Theocritus (Doric), while ὠπτικοί appears only in "funny country bumpkin" contexts of Attic comedy<sup>203</sup>.

Pausanias in the *Messenika*, wrote:

“ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ὀπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ὄντας, δεῖμα ἰσχυρὸν παρέστη σφίσι λογιζόμενοις τὴν τε ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ἥ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐώρων χρωμένους αὐτούς”<sup>204</sup>.

According to him, the Lacedemonians realized from the weaponry and the speech that it was Philippos and Demetrios. Suggesting that they understood who they were from their language which was of course, Greek.

Plutarch also quoted that Pyrrhus had planted some of his Epirotes in the Macedonian army, urging the Macedonians to get rid of Demetrius (since Epirotes spoke the same Greek dialect as Macedonians)<sup>205</sup>.

In the previous chapter, only a few examples have been examined in order to emphasize the Greek character of the Macedonian dialect. What is important though, is the fact that those attestations directly derive from the ancient authors<sup>206</sup>.

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<sup>203</sup> Colvin, 1999, p. 279.

<sup>204</sup> Paus., *Messenika*, 29.3.

<sup>205</sup> Plut., *Pyrrhus*, 11.4.

<sup>206</sup> Other references on the subject can be also met in the following quotes: Strabo 7.7.8, Plutarch *Pyrrhus* II.1, Plutarch's *Moralia*, *On the Fortune of Alexander*, 332 A, Curtius VII 9.25 – 11.7, Curtius VII. 5. 29, T. Livius, XLV, Herodotus 5.20.4, Arrian *Anab.* 2.14.4, Arrian 2.7, Arrian *Anab.* 3. 18. 11-12, Arrian, I, 16, 10, Polybius, 18.4.8.

## 5. THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The National Hellenic Research Foundation, since 1981 has been committed to a very significant work concerning the collection, examination and publication of the primary evidence of the Macedonian region. Inscriptions, coins and other archaeological evidence constitute important primary material that allows us to supplement or even review the testimony of the literary sources. In this chapter, such primordial evidence will be presented and examined in order to analyze the presence of the Macedonians in various Hellenic regions and also, to ascertain whether they considered themselves *Hellenes* or not. Epigraphic evidence that testifies how the southern Greeks considered the Macedonians, derive both from the historical and the epigraphical sources. In the following essay, that evidence will be distinguished in certain levels. Those levels shall depict the different aspects of the life of a Macedonian, residing outside the region (of Macedonia, during the classical period).

- **Epigraphic evidence on the cultural and social life of the Macedonians**

As Prof. Xydopoulos has already stressed, there are several epigraphical sources authenticating the participation of the Macedonians to the Olympic games and certain religious and festive activities<sup>207</sup>. Near the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, several athletes from Macedonia are depicted as participating in the Olympic games, such are: *Κλείτων* (328 BC) and *Λάμπρος* (308 BC)<sup>208</sup>. Those two didn't belong to the royal house but were ordinary Macedonian citizens. Moreover, the fact that Alexander I<sup>209</sup>, Archelaus<sup>210</sup> and Philip II<sup>211</sup> had also participated in the games as well is widely confirmed. Borza<sup>212</sup> and Badian<sup>213</sup> though claim that the counter-Olympics (as Badian describes) which were founded at Dion by Archelaus, echo the Macedonian nation's inability to participate in the Olympic games. They stress their theory by relying on the lack of data in the Olympians' catalogs of Macedonians before the time of Philip II. For

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<sup>207</sup> Xydopoulos, 1998, p. 91.

<sup>208</sup> Anson, 2010, p. 19.

<sup>209</sup> Herod., 5.22.

<sup>210</sup> Solinus, 9.16.

<sup>211</sup> Plut., *Alex.* 3.8, 4.9.

<sup>212</sup> Borza, 1992, pp. 174-5.

<sup>213</sup> Badian, 1982, pp. 32 & 45.

them, the other Greeks didn't consider them as being Greeks. Their theory is very fragile though, due to the fact that the Olympic Games were such a respectable Panhellenic institution that any intervention by the Macedonian king (regarding for example; the forced admission of his nationals) would certainly provoke reactions. Had he acted in such a way (as the author claims), the Kings prestige and the Macedonian policy in southern Greece would have been immensely damaged. Besides, Archelaos at the time being was trying to append close joints between Athens and Macedonia and he had succeeded in his efforts. According to a decree, he and his sons had already been appointed as a *proxenos* and *euergetes* by the Athenian *Demos*<sup>214</sup>. That evidence clearly depicts that; the Hellenic sentiment was very well established within the Macedonians life (not just in the Royal Court but also in the moral sense of the simple citizens). Those fine examples attest to the historical truth that the rest of the Greeks conceived of the Macedonians as Hellenes, otherwise, they wouldn't have accepted them in the games.

Other Panhellenic games that the Macedonians also participated in are the *Pythia*<sup>215</sup>, the *Isthmia*<sup>216</sup>, *Lucaia* and *Nemea*. A decree from Delphi refers to Archon, a citizen of Pella who took part both in the Isthmia and Pythia games and his participation in the game of *sunoris* was victorious<sup>217</sup>. The very same person (who was an officer in Alexander's army) in another decree from Delphi again, was also honored as a *proxenos* of the city along with his brother Isocrates and his mother Synesis<sup>218</sup>. He and his descendants received *proxeny*, priority in consulting the oracle (*promantea*), exemption from taxes (*ateleia*), inviolability (*asylia*), priority in trials [*prodikia*] and possession of civic rights (*epitima*)<sup>219</sup>. Marek stressed that the possible dating of the specific decree was 333/2, at the time when Archon was still a young officer<sup>220</sup>. Also, a decree discovered on the island of Samos displays a list of victors at the contests of

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<sup>214</sup> IG I3 117, 31. More details can be found in Walbank, B., M., 1978. *Athenian Proxemies of the 5th century B.C.*, (p. 460-469). Toronto: Samuel Stevens.

<sup>215</sup> SEG 18, 222 a.

<sup>216</sup> J., Bousquet, *Inscriptions de Delphes*, BCH 83 (1959).

<sup>217</sup> SEG 18, 222 a.

<sup>218</sup> SEG 18, 222 c.

<sup>219</sup> Rhodes 2003, p. 469.

<sup>220</sup> Marek, 1984, pp. 173-4.

the *gymnasion* (200 BC) <sup>221</sup>. In other games that were held at Amfiara of Oropos, before 338 BC, another Macedonian athlete participated. Malakos the Macedonian, won in the races<sup>222</sup>. From Arkadia, in another religious festival the Lykaian (dedicated to the worship of Zeus), three Macedonian names are displayed in the list of the winners (308 BC). The names of: *Dragos of Macedonia*, *Epinetos of Macedonia* and *Boubalos of Cassandria*<sup>223</sup>. Dragos won at the *synoris*, Epinetos in *tethripon* and Boubalos at *keles* flat race<sup>224</sup>.

Surviving fragments of an *Amphorae* (Thessaloniki's arch. Museum, 181.51), provide us with information on the victorious participation of a Macedonian in the Panathenaic games<sup>225</sup>. This winner's prize amphorae is inscribed with the name *Aristoboulos of Kassandreia* and dated to 316/5 BC. The competitor participated in a four-horse chariot game and he won. On the obverse, Athena's foot is visible and part of the legs of the horses while on the reverse side of the chariot is recognizable. Tiverios posits that *the victor was a native from Kassandreia, perhaps a member of the royal family or of an influential one*<sup>226</sup>. Another black figure Athenian amphorae from the necropolis of Aiani (late 6<sup>th</sup> early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) indicates that Aianeans (region of upper Macedonia) also participated in the *Panathenaean* gymnastics and so do the engraved-on stone lists of theorodokoi, that will be examined later.

Thusly, from the previous examples, it is evident that the Macedonians (especially coming from the Royal Court/family) considered themselves a matter of honor to participate in the PanHellenic games and so did the plain citizens. Though pieces of evidence are very scarce, it is safe to agree with prof Xydopoulos and conclude that: not only did the Macedonians have a strong sentiment of their Hellenic origin but furthermore, they wished to be accepted by the Northern as equals<sup>227</sup>.

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<sup>221</sup> SEG XLIII 381.

<sup>222</sup> IG VII.1, 414.

<sup>223</sup> Syll3.314.

<sup>224</sup> Matz, 1991, p. 97-8.

<sup>225</sup> Tiverios, 1996, pp. 9-14.

<sup>226</sup> Tiverios, 1996, pp. 15-7.

<sup>227</sup> More examples of fragmentary pieces of evidence, concerning the participation of the Macedonians to PanHellenic games, can be examined in prof. Xydopoulos thesis: *Social and cultural relations of the Macedonians and the other Greeks*, 1998, pp. 92-5.

Honorific decrees publicly recognized and commented on individuals who had either performed as patrons or offered exemplary services for the city<sup>228</sup>. Therefore, the *Demos* dedicated a statue, a *stylae*, *proxeny*, etc., to them for their services. Such epigraphic evidence is attested in several places throughout Greece. An example of a Macedonian who was offered honors from the *Demos* of Samos is the following:

vacat 0,03  
[ΜΕΝΕ — — — — — καὶ — — — — —] νωνος,  
[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ]ς, Αἰγέων·

vacat 0,037  
3 [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Μ]νησι-  
[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ]ς, Αἰγέων·  
5 [ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] Π.  
[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ]<sup>229</sup>

Moreover, it has been suggested that the specific fragment of a *stylae* (on white marble) from the *Heraion* of the island of Samos, might be attributed to citizens of Cilicia. The *Αἰγέων*, though in genitive, could also be attributed as a reference to the ethnic origin of Macedonians from Aigae. Another decree, this time from Euboea (Histiaia, ca 265 BC) is found in which, several persons from different regions (such as Athens, Cyrene, Aigae, Samos, Tenedos, Aetolia etc.) were offered by the *Demos* a *proxeny* (as well as their offspring)<sup>230</sup>. The genitive *Αἰγέων* here is also referring to the ethnic origin of the person. The name documented though is *Ἀμύνται Μένωνος Μακεδόνι* who clearly was a Macedonian. Therefore, it is safe to suggest that in the previous honorific decree examined from Samos, the *Αἰγέων* can be related to the region of Macedonia. Meanwhile, in another honorary decree of *boule* and *demos* of Magnesia, *Aischrion A[m]ynta Make[don]* is mentioned having been offered *proxeny*<sup>231</sup>.

Another decree from Haliartos (Boeotia) refers to a Macedonian who received *proxeny* from the *demos*. According to it:

“1 [ — — — — — ἄρχοντος, Μελίτων Θυμ[οίτ]αο  
ἔλεξ[ε]· προ[β]εβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῷ ποτὶ δᾶμον, Μέ-

<sup>228</sup> Hudson, 2002, p. 183.

<sup>229</sup> IG XII,6 1:62

<sup>230</sup> IG XII,9 1187

<sup>231</sup> I Magnesia 10; \*\*Wilhelm, JÖAI 8, 1905, 5 (l. 1).

να[ν]δρον [— — —, Ἄδρ]αστον Νέσ[τορος, — — — — —],  
 Κάσσ[α]νδρον Νικάρχω Μακεδόνας ἐ[ς] Ἐδέσσας  
 5 προξένως εἴμεν κῆ εὐ[εργέ]τας τῶς πόλιος Ἀριαρτίων  
 κῆ αὐτ[ῶ]ς κῆ ἐ[σ]γόν[ως], κῆ εἴμεν αὐτῶς γὰ[ρ] κῆ ἑ[υ]κίας ἔ[π]πασ[ιν]  
 [κῆ ἀ]τέλιαν [κῆ ἀσφάλ]ιαν [κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ] πολέμ[ω κῆ ἱρ]άν[ας]  
 [ἰώ]σας [κῆ κατὰ γὰν κῆ κατὰ] θά[λατταν, κ]ῆ τᾶλλα πάντα  
 [καθάπερ κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς προξένως κῆ εὐεργέτης]"<sup>232</sup>.

Cassander son of Nicharhos from Edessa (Macedonia) received proxeny due to his benefactions bestowed on the citizens of Ariartia. For that, he, his children and his wife received the *asylia*, *atelia* and was nominated as a *proxenos* and *eyergetes*<sup>233</sup>.

In a decree from the island of Samos, a Macedonian, Theotimides is honoured<sup>234</sup>. who had helped the Samians during their *φυγή* (exile from their island). According to this decree: *On account of the goodwill and zeal that he entertains towards the Samian people and to register him as proxenos and benefactor of the people; he shall be granted citizenship on an equal and similar basis, both for himself and for his descendants, and he shall be allotted to a tribe and a 'thousand' and a 'hundred' and a family, and he shall be enrolled in the same way as other Samians; he shall have the right of sailing into and out of the city inviolably 20 and without formality, both in war and in peacetime; and he shall have access to the council and the assembly immediately after religious and royal matters, if he needs anything; the generals and the prytaneis in office at the time shall have to deal with whatever Theotimides announces. This resolution shall be engraved on a stone stele and set up in the sanctuary of Hera; the treasurer 30 shall provide for the expense*<sup>235</sup>. According to Paschidis, the fact that Theotimides belonged to Antigonos' staff already before the

<sup>232</sup> IG VII 2848

<sup>233</sup> In fine F. suggests reading θυν[ιδ]αιο and either identifying Μελίτων θυνίδαο with the Haliartian Μελίτων θεώνδου on record in Chalcis ca. 150 BC (IG XII 9 1136) or relating him to the latter. θύμοιτας (or -ος) seems to be a hapax in Boeotia, whereas θεωνίδας, θινιδας, θοινίδος and θυ(ι)ωνίδος are fairly common. As to IG XII 9 1136 F. wonders whether θεωνίδου should be read, although θεώνδας occurs twice in the area of Eretria 11 3. Κέρ]ασ.ον has also been suggested (cf. BE, 1939, πο. 134) but F. suggests restoring Ὀνόμ]αστον and identifying Kassandros and Qnomastos with the pro-Perseus agents active in Thrace ca 184 BC (Polybius 22.13/14 and Livy 39.34) and possibly Menandros {LL. 2/3} with the homonymous regal ἀρμοστής in Thessalonica (IG XI 4 1053) or the latter's grandson.

<sup>234</sup> IG 12.6.1.25

<sup>235</sup> Translation by, G. Herman, *The 'friends' of the early Hellenistic rulers*, p. 105.



*Samians' return makes him the only known philos of Antigonos prior to 323. As Antigonos does not carry the royal title in the text, the decree should be dated to 320-306 during their exile in the period of the Athenian cleruchy (365-322)*<sup>236</sup>.

From Samos again, another fragment refers to Dionysius Macedon who offered his good services to the *Demos* and was willing to aid the municipality of Samos in the future as well. Therefore, the *Demos* and the *Boule* decided to praise Dionysius for his favor and his willingness to be a consul and a benefactor. Moreover, he and his offspring were given the rights of the citizen equal to the citizens of Samos<sup>237</sup>. A Philippos from Macedonia was prided with citizenship and proxeny from the *Demos* of Samos due to his services, help and protection he offered to the city. He and his offspring were provided with citizenship and would be recorded in the list of the citizens<sup>238</sup>.

Another interesting fragment from the same island refers to an Aristolaos, son of Ameiniou from Macedonia, who was appointed general at Karia of Samos. His services towards the citizens of Samos were so great, that he was offered citizenship. The *Boulai* and the *Demos* also decided that his name should be written on a stone and dedicated to the sanctuary of Hera, as a *proxenos* of the city. Moreover, he would be delegated as a chairman to the athletic games and he would be granted free access to the *Boule* and *Demos* premises<sup>239</sup>.

From Boeotia, several other proxeny decrees from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century have also been recovered. According to the fragments, two Macedonians received a proxeny from the city of Oropus, for their services. Also, they were provided with the right to obtain a house and were offered equal rights (with the other citizens), *asylia* and *asfaleia* (security). Those pieces of fragments attest to the good relations between the Boeotians and the Macedonians<sup>240</sup>.

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<sup>236</sup> Paschidis, 2008, p. 382.

<sup>237</sup> IG XII.6 p. 1, 19 (321-306 BC).

<sup>238</sup> IG XII.6 p. 1, 61 (end of the 4th cent. BC).

<sup>239</sup> IG XII.6 p. 1, 120 (280-246 BC).

<sup>240</sup> SEG XV 268-270, 279 and IG II<sup>2</sup> 334.

From the same region again, Amphiaraum at Oropus, two *stelai* were recovered and now kept at the museum (nos. 257 and 250)<sup>241</sup>.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
[θεό]ς.	θεός.
[Δρί]μων ἔλεξε. ἔδοξε	Δρίμων ἔλεξε. ἔδοξε
[τ]εῖ ἐκκλησίει, ἀγαθῇ τύχει·	τεῖ ἐκκλησίει, ἀγαθῇ τύχει·
[Ἀ]μύνταν Περδίκκα Μακεδόνα	Ἀμύνταν Ἀντιόχου Μακε-
5 [π]ρόξενον εἰν Ὠρωπίων	5 δόνα πρόξενον εἰν Ὠρωπί-
[κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀτέλειαν δὲ	ων καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀτέλειαν
εἰν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου	δὲ εἰν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου
καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης	καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης
ἐνκτησιν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.	ἐνκτησιν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.

IG vii 4251 (A), 4250 (B); SIG<sup>3</sup> 258.; Tod 164\*; Petrakos

Both decrees offer a proxeny to an *Amyntas son of Perdiccas* and another *Amyntas son of Antiochus*, both from Macedonia. The reason for this offering is not clear but the honors were combined with the status of *proxenos* and *benefactor*, for *ateleia* and *asylia*<sup>242</sup>. In the 1<sup>st</sup> decree, “*Amyntas son of Perdiccas*” is identified as the son of Perdiccas III, the king of Macedon who died in 359<sup>243</sup>. While “*Amyntas son of Antiochus*” is the person who fled from Macedon at the beginning of Alexander's reign<sup>244</sup>.

Even though there is not much evidence of Macedonians attending the Panhellenic games, fortunately several lists of *Theorodokoi* have been successfully recovered. Those lists are a living proof of evidence as far as it concerns the acceptance of the “other” Greeks of the Macedonians to attend those games<sup>245</sup>. Those

<sup>241</sup> IG vii 4251 (A), 4250 (B); SIG<sup>3</sup> 258.

<sup>242</sup> Immunity from the violent seizure of property (*sylan*) to which a foreigner might otherwise be exposed.

<sup>243</sup> Rhodes, 2003, p. 371.

<sup>244</sup> He is first met on the Persian side at Ephesus in 334, appears in one version of the stories concerning Alexander of Lyncestis, escaped after the battle of Issus in 333, and was eventually killed in Egypt. See Arr. Anab. I. 17. ix, 25. iii, II. 13. ii-iii; D.S. xvii. 48. ii-v.

<sup>245</sup> Non-Greek speaking barbarians were excluded from invitation to Panhellenic games and festivals.

lists (eight in number) come from different regions, such as: Delphi<sup>246</sup>, Nemea<sup>247</sup>, Epidaurus<sup>248</sup>, Magnesia and the island of Kos<sup>249</sup>. Those lists of “theorodokoi” of the Panhellenic sanctuaries clearly depict that: The cities of Macedonia had officially acquired an international legal personality as an autonomous political unit within the kingdom<sup>250</sup>.

Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* 43, very eloquently described the sense of community and the tight bonds the Greeks had during those Panhellenic festivals. Those games played a very significant role in the cultural and religious character in ancient Greece. As to their importance, the author quoted: *Now the founders of our great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom by which, having proclaimed a truce and resolved our pending quarrels, we come together in one place, where, as we make our prayers and sacrifices in common, we are reminded of the kinship which exists among us and are made to feel kindlier towards each other for the future, reviving our old friendships and establishing new ties*<sup>251</sup>.

Furthermore, several epitaphs of Macedonians have been also recovered throughout Greece, from different periods. From Kephallenia, two different fragments attest of two Macedonians (coming from the region of Cassandreia, Chalcidice) having been buried there<sup>252</sup>. Also, a *Mneseikia from Pella* is also mentioned in another fragment<sup>253</sup>. From the island of Korkyra, a pedimental stylae of two Macedonians was

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<sup>246</sup> FD III 5. 14 a, 22. 16-17, 47 A, 48 B., BCH 45 [1921] 17, col. III, line 59. Theorodokoi of the Pythian Festival, inscription fragments published by Andre Plassart as *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 45 (1921) 1, dated ca. 230 BC, found in Delphi, listing cities of the Greek world and the local citizens there responsible for hosting the *theoroi*, the religious delegation from the sanctuary of Apollo. Translated by Brady Kiesling, Greek text at Searchable Greek Inscriptions, PHI. Reference Link: [http://topostext.org/work.php?work\\_id=127](http://topostext.org/work.php?work_id=127).

<sup>247</sup> SEG 12. 374, SEG 36. 331, see also S. Miller, *The Theorodokoi of the Nemean Games*, *Hesperia* 57 (1988), pp. 147-165.

<sup>248</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 1 94, IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 1 96

<sup>249</sup> SEG 12, 374, 242 BC

<sup>250</sup> Hatzopoulos, 2011, p. 239.

<sup>251</sup> Isoc., *Panegyricus* 43. English Translation by George Norlin, Ph.D., LL.D. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1980.

<sup>252</sup> IG IX, 1 626, IG IX, 1 627.

<sup>253</sup> IG IX, 1 592he

discovered near the Soter's Hill cemetery. It refers to *Hermolaos son of Artemidoros and Thrasyllaos, the Macedonians*<sup>254</sup>.

From the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, a fragmentary dedication to the King Antigonos Gonatas is also noted<sup>255</sup>. It was recovered in the remains of the monumental royal stoa in the island constructed after the victorious battles of the King, specifically, the battles of Andros and Kos<sup>256</sup>. According to Constantakopoulou, this act was a genuine political action of the King and certainly not part of a “propaganda” concerning the *Hellenicity* of his Kingdom. As Bruneau has already stressed and ultimately agrees with my position, royal dedications and religious festivals should not be considered and interpreted exclusively as a political act of the King. Contrary though, they could also be considered as “monumental statements”, dedicated to the *progonoi*<sup>257</sup> (progenitors) and the *apogonoi* (descendants)<sup>258</sup> or even to the gods<sup>259</sup>. The monument was dedicated to Apollo and religious festivals were also founded to celebrate his victory<sup>260</sup>.

A few epigraphic pieces of evidence from the region of Upper Macedonia of the classical period are also attested in several places throughout Greece. Two such pieces were found from Azoros<sup>261</sup>, in Tripolis and Evia in Elimia<sup>262</sup>, a dedication by the name of *epistates* (magistrates in charge of the *Komai* in upper Macedonia)<sup>263</sup>, *doules* who addressed a letter to a certain Nikolaos of Alkomena<sup>264</sup>, etc.

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<sup>254</sup> Metallinou, G., Antonetti, C., (ed.), *Lo spazio ioni.co e/e comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale. Territorio, società, istituzioni* (Pisa 2010).

<sup>255</sup> IG XI. 4 1095=Choix 35.

<sup>256</sup> Constantakopoulou, 2017, p. 92.

<sup>257</sup> A dedication of a long blue marbled base on which stood the names and probably bronze statues, of his ancestors. GD 31.

<sup>258</sup> The descent lineage of this dedication must have reached up to the mythical period of his ancestors.

<sup>259</sup> Several more dedications of the Macedonian Kings to the gods can be also examined in: Ma, J., 2015. *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation). Oxford University Press.

<sup>260</sup> Constantakopoulou, 2017, pp. 92-3.

<sup>261</sup> Hatzopoulos, 1996 a, p. 156, n. 1515 & 373, n. 8.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, pp. 95-101.

<sup>263</sup> Hatzopoulos, 1996 b, pp. 41-2.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, p. 43.

All the above epigraphic sources, provide us with concrete evidence of how the Macedonians perceived themselves and how the rest of Greeks defined them (as Hellenes or not). That evidence clearly states that several Macedonians lived outside the region, in many different places. Due to this fact, it was vital for them to distinguish themselves as *Hellenes* (compared to the other tribes, the slaves etc., who also lived in the same regions). This was not some kind of a propaganda but only because, they felt and acted as the rest of the Greeks. Due to this fact, they used to define their city of origin in all the public transaction letters, on gravestones etc., as the epigraphic sources clearly depict. Meanwhile, the “other” Greeks accepted them as being part of their own race kind. The evidence testifies that they considered Macedonia as another coherent state (such were the Aetolians, the Achaeans, etc.). Moreover, they recognized the Macedonian cities as self-sufficient organizations.

The Macedonians did not differ in any way if compared to the rest of the Greeks. The fundamentals of their culture, language, religion, education was one of a kind. Nevertheless, most significant is the fact that they felt like Greeks. What the epigraphic evidence proves to be a fact is that all the Hellenes had acquired the very same roles in the epigraphic production. Macedonians are inscribed as benefactors, theorodokoi, proxenoi, honored for their political or military mediation etc., so were the rest of the Greeks.

## Conclusions

Exploring is learning and learning means coming closer to the truth. Truth though is subjective. My truth doesn't always have to be alike your truth, Borza's truth, Badian's etc. It depends on the angle from which someone sees the picture, the method he approaches it with and in certain cases, it is not the same angle.

In the specific essay, an approach from the point of view of the ancient writers, the Macedonians and the rest of the Greeks has been attempted. The sources were analyzed in an objective way in order to navigate in a safe ocean of pieces of information. They were critically analyzed and also included different aspects of thoughts, deriving from several modern historians.

Was it "propaganda" from the Macedonians Kings and the Royal Court, to present themselves as Hellenes? Yes, it was. After all, politics has always been a vital factor appearing from the ancient times onwards. Politics though is something different than attempting to distort the historical truth. This propaganda though was not established on some kind of fictional evidence, it served political purposes. What invoked this phenomenon was the fact that several ancient historians tried to distinguish the Macedonians from the other Greeks. They were urged in acting in this way, only after the region began to gain power and to have influence upon the rest of the Hellenes of different regions which up to that moment were subjugated to Athens. During the classical period, Athens was the greatest power of Greece. When the balances began to oscillate, due to the rise of the Macedonian power, measures had to be taken in order to maintain the weight leaning towards the Great City. The whole Democratic political system was endangered by the uprising of the Macedonian monarchy. This exact moment was when the anti-Macedonian "voices" of certain historians, orators, army officers and politicians rose. If that is not political propaganda, then what is? Under those conditions, the Macedonian Kings were obliged to acquire political actions to defend themselves for what was previously considered to be self-evident.

Authors from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Homer) up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century eloquently attested to the Hellenicity of Macedonia and the origin of its people. From the late 5<sup>th</sup>

century onwards things changed, certain authors depicted the region and the people as barbarians (only in a few, specific cases as was stressed throughout this essay). Concrete evidence though (historiography, archaeology and epigraphy), provide today's historians with the truth. Macedonia was established and inhabited by people with Hellenic origins, they spoke of the same language (even though it was a dialect influenced from the neighborhood tribes), they believed in the same gods as the rest of the Greeks did. What is more important though and has been well proven, is the fact that: Starting from the last, minor citizen of the region up to the Royal Court and the Kings himself, they felt they were Hellenes. They distinguished themselves from the barbarians who were their constant enemies (the Persians, the Illyrians, the Gauls, the Thracians etc.), they had a common conscience, a cultural awareness and a civic mindedness as the rest of the Greeks did.

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